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ABSTRACT

This study of school districts in the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas is part of a larger study entitled, "School District Organization for Missouri" (ED 026 171). After a discussion of political, social, and economic factors affecting schools in most metropolitan areas, the paper focuses on Kansas City and St. Louis, where gross inequalities of educational opportunity are seen to exist. A new structure for public education in Missouri is then described as a regional school district with limited powers for each of the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas. (Maps on pp. 70-71 may reproduce poorly). (DE)

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EQUAL TREATMENT TO EQUALS

A NEW STRUCTURE FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE KANSAS CITY AND ST. LOUIS METROPOLITAN AREAS

A Report to the
Missouri School District Reorganization Commission

by

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June, 1969

EA 002 966

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June 15, 1969

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

The Honorable Warren E. Hearnes
Governor of Missouri
The Members of the Seventy-Fifth General Assembly
The Members of the State Board of Education

Gentlemen:

The Missouri School District Reorganization Commission is pleased to present for your consideration its detailed study of the school district situation in the Greater Kansas City and St. Louis Metropolitan areas. This report, prepared by Dr.Clifford Hooker and Dr. Van Mueller of the University of Minnesota College of Education faculty, goes into some detail relative to the problems which face public education in these two growing areas of our state.

In the letter of transmittal of the full report of the Commission entitled, "School District Organization for Missouri," I wrote: "Because of the special problems of the two large metropolitan areas, the Commission has prepared a more detailed outline of its recommendations relative to the educational structure for the public schools in the Kansas City and St. Louis areas. This information will be furnished to the State Department of Education and will be available for distribution."

We trust that this expanded study will be helpful to public officials, educational authorities, and school patrons of Missouri as they seek to find constructive solutions to the problems which persist in plaguing the functioning of the public schools in Missouri's two major metropolitan areas.

Sincerely,

James I. Spainhower

James I. Spainhower, Chairman
Missouri School District
Reorganization Commission

JIS:GS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter **Page**

INTRODUCTION 1

I. CRISIS IN METROPOLITAN EDUCATION–THE CONDITIONS. 5

  Political Factors and School Governance 6

  Social Forces and the Schools. 9

  Economic Forces and Education 11

  Consequences and Implications for the Organization of Education. 16

II. THE ENVIRONMENT FOR EDUCATION IN THE KANSAS CITY AND ST. LOUIS METROPOLITAN AREAS–DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM 19

  Characteristics of Metropolitan Missouri 21

  Educational Governance and Resource Allocation 27

  Metropolitan Area Fiscal Disparities 29

III. EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER THE LAW 37

  Equality and Liberty 37

    The Public Schools as Brokers of Opportunity. 38

  Equal Protection and Educational Opportunity 40

    Similar Treatment to Those Similarly Situated 42

  Achieving Equality of Educational Opportunity. 43

IV. A NEW STRUCTURE FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION 47

  Alternatives 48

    The Governance of Schools 49

    The Establishment of Local School Units. 50

    The Financing of Public Schools. 55

  Conclusion 58

V. SUMMARY/CONCLUSIONS–A TIME TO LISTEN. . .A TIME TO ACT 59

BIBLIOGRAPHY. 64

ENLARGED MAPS 71

LIST OF TABLES

Number		Page
I.	Population Change in Kansas City and St. Louis SMSA's Central City and Outside Central City. 1950-1960	21
II.	Population Changes in St. Louis and Kansas City Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, April 1960-July, 1965	22
III.	Selected Economic Factors Based on 1965 Individual Income Tax Returns for Kansas City and St. Louis SMSA's	23
IV.	Percent of Families With Income More Than $10,000 and Under $3,000 in the Kansas City and St. Louis Areas	23
V.	Median Family Income in 1959 in Kansas City and St. Louis Areas	24
VI.	Educational Attainment of Persons 25 Years and Older in St. Louis and Kansas City SMSA's Based on Percent with Four Years of High School or More Education	24
VII.	Educational Attainment for Kansas City and St. Louis Areas Based on Median Years of School Completed, 1960	25
VIII.	Non-White Population Contrasted With Non-White School Enrollment	26
IX.	Current Expenditure Per Pupil, Total Expenditure Per Capita, and Total Non-Aided (Local) Educational Expenditures Per Capita, for St. Louis and Kansas City, Central City and Outside Central City Areas, 1962	27
X.	Number of School Districts in Kansas City and St. Louis Areas, June, 1968	28
XI.	Enrollment (Grades 1-12), Assessed Valuation, Bonded Indebtedness, and Percent Bonded Indebtedness/Assessed Valuation for High School Districts of Kansas City Metropolitan and East-West Gateway (St. Louis) Regions	29-30-31
XII.	Rank Order (By Counties) of Kansas City Metropolitan Region School District: Assessed Valuation Per Pupil Enrolled (Grades 1-12), Current Expenditure Per Pupil in Average Daily Attendance, and School Tax Levy, 1966-1967	33
XIII.	Rank Order (By Counties) of East-West Gateway Region (St. Louis) School Districts: Assessed Valuation Per Pupil Enrolled (Grades 1-12), Current Expenditures Per Pupil in Average Daily Attendance, and School Tax Levy, 1966-1967	34
XIV.	Recommended Local School Units in the Kansas City Area	53
XV.	Recommended Local School Units in the East-West Gateway-St. Louis Area	54

INTRODUCTION

Public education in the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas hurts. Its pain is caused in part by a district structure which was created to serve a previous era. While a sensible school district pattern alone will not cure all of the afflictions of the educational system, little progress can be expected without it. A major reorganization of school districts is called for. The need for such reorganization is examined here and a new structure for education is recommended.

The new structure for education which this report proposes is approached with a culturally defined institutional mission in mind. This mission is defined by a series of assumptions which run throughout the report. For example, there is an assumption that educational disparity is an evil which should be avoided. Evidence is presented to show that the quality of schooling in both metropolitan areas is directly related to the economic conditions of adults, and it is demonstrated that this is not consistent with the goals of a democratic society. Serious legal questions are raised on this subject and there are some court cases cited, along with the prediction that the courts will continue to intervene to correct gross abuses. Also, the recommended structure includes a provision to place strict limitations on the potential for variations in the level of school support between districts.

A second and related assumption is that a community of interest exists between the central cities and their suburbs. Ugliness caused by educational neglect creeps across school district boundaries to invade the cellophane sanctuaries of the suburbs and reduces the quality of life for all. Indeed, there is a warning that central city schools may become counter-productive to the goals of suburban dwellers. The ideology of localism, which is pervasive in the two areas, encourages a fragmented, rather than unified, approach to educational planning. Again, the recommended plan has provisions to remedy this perceived problem. The recommendation is for a regionally-elected board of education which will have the principal responsibility for levying taxes and planning for educational development.

Perhaps the most basic assumption in this document is that the public schools can be used as instruments to avoid the creation of two societies which are separate and unequal. This paper attempts to demonstrate that present unexamined policies have led to racial, social, and economic stratification in both metropolitan areas. Questions are raised about the wisdom of a public policy which uses the schools to maintain and support such stratification. It must be emphasized that the citizens of Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas are already making a choice. The practice of devoting many more resources to educating surburban children than city children, or to put it another way, spending the most money to educate those who need it the least, is calculated to achieve separate societies. If fully implemented, the recommended structure would reverse this practice by mobilizing the resources of the entire area to provide education as needed.

Finally, there is an assumption that education is too important and too complex to be left wholly to the educators. In fact, this entire report is addressed to all who have a voice in the making of decisions which affect the schools in the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas. While educators ought to be included in this audience, the base for school improvement must be much broader. No amount of exhortation by educators will ameliorate the conditions confronting the schools. This is so because the most serious problems are political rather than educational. For example, the political choices which have been made about the distribution of the school tax dollars and the location of school district boundaries place serious constraints on the operation of the schools. The wisdom of all of the educators in the state connot reduce the disparity of educational opportunity under these conditions.

The many facets of these central assumptions are examined in the chapters which follow. Chapter I treats the political, social, and economic factors as they affect schools in most metropolitan areas. Also, the interdependence of the cities and suburbs is discussed. The chapter ends with an argument for broad scale approaches to the educational problems in the two major metropolitan areas of Missouri.

Chapter II focuses on the environment for education in the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas. The chapter includes census and school data showing that St. Louis Superintendent Kottmeyer's characterization of the cities and suburbs as "A Tale of Two Citites" is most appropriate. The differences that really make a difference are very much in evidence. Providing equal access to education in this setting will require the cooperation and wisdom of all professed men of good will.

The third chapter examines the legal implications of provisions for education which result in gross disparities in the quality of schools within a state. Three arguments are advanced for a constitutional principle of equal educational opportunity based on the Equal Protection Clause. The conclusion is reached that the schools in the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas are in violation of the principle pertaining to governmental discrimination based on wealth.

The new structure for public education is described in Chapter IV. The essential elements of the new structure include a regional school district with limited powers for each of the two metropolitan areas. The regions would be divided into local school units consistent with the criteria approved by the Missouri School District Reorganization Commission.

This report ends as it begins with a summation of the principal ideas and a challenge to statesmanship on the part of the legislators, educators, and laymen who are concerned about the quality of life in urban areas. This summation and challenge is reported in Chapter V.

This document is limited to a discussion of school district reorganization in the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas. For a comprehensive treatment of this topic for the entire state, the readers should see *School District Organization for Missouri,* a 165-page report which was submitted to the Missouri School District Reorganization Commission in November, 1968 by the Bureau of Field Studies and Surveys of the University of Minnesota.

CHAPTER I

CRISIS IN METROPOLITAN EDUCATION–
THE CONDITIONS

Educational reform is rapidly becoming a national goal for the last third of the twentieth century. This movement is zeroed in primarily on the SMSA's[1] of the nation. A great many efforts are being made to overcome the difficulties involved in providing adequate educational opportunity. New attention is being focused on education at the very time when metropolitan areas face major problems of racial strife, physical blight, congestion, economic dislocation, and increased social and economic stratification. To the individual citizen of Missouri, to the residents of cities and suburbs, and to the nation as a whole, good education offers tangible hope for the future; poor education promises at best to hasten the long trend of urban decline.

Developing durable solutions for the pressing educational problems of metropolitan school systems in Missouri as elsewhere is obviously not within the power of school people alone, nor is it their sole responsibility. While a great deal of progress can be made, it is an illusion to believe that equality of educational opportunity can come exclusively from the activities of enlightened school administrators and competent, dedicated teachers backed up with adequate financing. The fact is that only limited progress toward solving metropolitan educational problems can be expected until there are significant changes in a number of public attitudes and policies which today bar the way to improving existing programs and impede the efforts to find new and lasting solutions for metropolitan problems generally.

It is the primary purpose of this chapter to delineate those conditions of the metropolitan culture which produce important consequences for the performance of the education function. An identification and brief analyses of some of the fundamental problems confronting metropolitan Missouri is undertaken. The festering, half-visible problems of the metropolitan society–harsh inequalities of wealth, status and opportunity–tend to be reflected with clarity in the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas. The depth and reality of these problems illustrate what Gunnar Myrdal saw as the "American dilemma"–the gap between what we articulate and what we practice.

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[1] SMSA–Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, see page 19.

POLITICAL FACTORS AND SCHOOL GOVERNANCE

In the modern metropolitan community, a family may reside in one jurisdiction, earn its living in one or more others, send children to school in another, and shop and seek recreation in still others. But to a considerable extent the American local political system still reflects the presumption that these various activities are concentrated in one governmental jurisdiction. Many middle and upper class families have fled to the suburbs as a preferred way of life only to discover the wisdom in John Donne's words, "No man is an island unto himself." The tentacles of ugliness cannot be quarantined; they creep across municipal and school district boundaries, nurtured by the indifference which flight to the more distant suburbs stimulates. Ignorance, poverty, lawlessness, and a host of other evils of educational neglect reduce the quality of metropolitan life for all. If the problems in either city or suburb are permitted to continue unabated, the prosperity and well being of the entire metropolitan area is endangered.

The problem of supplying educational services and facilities for the metropolitan areas of Missouri is compounded by the fact that there exists a "patchwork of jurisdictions" that have the authority for municipal and school administration. Looking at a map of the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas reveals a proliferation of political and school units. In 1962, the U.S. Bureau of Census reported that the Kansas City metropolitan area (Clay and Jackson counties alone) contained 97 local governmental units and 45 school districts. The St. Louis metropolitan area was reported to contain 199 local governmental units and 48 school districts. This condition is what political scientists are referring to when they talk about "fragmented governmental units." The fragmented appearance of local government in the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas is anything but neat and tidy. Furthermore, as metropolitan areas continue to grow the number of units of municipal and school governments increases.[1] The arbitrary and illogical subdivision of metropolitan communities into numerous governmental units is one of the major problems confronting metropolitan areas throughout the United States. It not only ignores the socio-economic unity of cities and suburbs but also fragments their tax bases and decentralizes responsibility for their public services. But something beyond this is involved. The very vehicle that could establish the purposes and direction for American education is lost in this web. By limiting the basic potential of cities and suburbs to solve educational problems, this pattern of organization has created wide disparities between the educational needs and programs of the entire area. It should be noted that an equally serious consequence of this pattern of organization (or disorganization) has been the fractionalization of public attitudes. Instead of encouraging a unified attack on metropolitan-wide problems, the proliferation of governmental units has provoked intra-area differences. Most serious of these problems are the cleavages which have developed between Kansas City, St. Louis, and their suburbs.

The recognized educational problems of the metropolitan areas of Missouri cannot be solved by the independent action of the various public and private organizations contained in a particular community. A recent study in the Kansas City metropolitan area found "that while school districts do in fact relate to a larger system that is metropolitan in scope, they do restrict the important decision-making functions to their own smaller geographic areas and deal with less complex matters than they would face if they had to operate on a metropolitan level."[2] Thus in the system of relationships uncovered in this study, there seems to be perpetuated an "ideology of localism," which fails to recognize the integrated roles of city and suburb and the need to develop new primary relations to solve complex social and educational problems.

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[1] Winston W. Crouch, "Conflicts and Cooperation Among Local Governments in the Metropolis," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 359 (May, 1965), p. 60.

[2] Frederick C. Brechler, Patterns of School District Interrelationships: A Study of the Kansas City Metropolitan Area, Kansas City: The Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems on Education, 1967. p. 110.

Martin, Havighurst, Levine and others[1] have suggested that the primary need for metropolitan areas is to learn how to organize in communal self-interest; to develop a sufficiently widespread commitment to the metropolitan area as a community in its own right through the development of a sense of common destiny. Addressing himself to this problem of developing a metropolitan "community of interest" Scott Greer writes:

> *"If there is no radical change in American urban government, if we continue to operate within the frozen framework of our political culture in our legal structure; I see this future. Major conflicts within the city, between Negroes and whites, between the vested interest of labor unions and public bureaucracies, between the prosperous and the poor, will continue and the fever will rise. Mumfert describes the problem as follows: The dominant economic and technical pressures of our time tend to form a multitude of over-specialized, non-cooperating and non-communicating enclaves whose facial remoteness and social segregation favor the totalitarian authoritarianism of our time."*[2]

The political and governance problems described have limited effective intergovernmental coordination and cooperation in the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas. Furthermore, they have effectively frustrated efforts to build the strong, well-planned social and economic structures required to meet the educational needs of these two rapidly changing metropolitan areas. The big stumbling block to building a new sense of community in the metropolitan areas of Missouri is the failure of the governance structure to reflect the marked change in the environment of metropolitan life. As Missourians ponder the deepening problems of providing appropriate educational services to all citizens, it appears that "With the resistant stealth of a reluctant dragon, metropolitanism moves across the nation. Its momentum is slow, its enemies many, its triumphs notable but few . . . . without question, metropolitanism is the movement of the future."[3]

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[1] For a more complete analysis see: Daniel Levine and Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Systems of a Metropolitan Area" in Robert J. Havighurst (ed.), Metropolitanism: Its Challenge to Education, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 67th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, 1968 Part I. pp. 37-70. Roscoe C. Martin, Metropolis in Transition: Local Government Adaptation to Changing Urban Needs, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

[2] Scott Greer, "The Shaky Future of Local Government," Psychology Today, August, 1968, p. 66.

[3] Education News, October 30, 1967. pp. 1, 14.

SOCIAL FORCES AND THE SCHOOLS

Dr. Kenneth Clark, psychologist at the City University of New York and critic of urban education, has stated that:

> *"American public schools have helped to block economic mobility for some and have tended to intensify class distinctions in our society. To the extent they do this, they are not fulfilling their historic function of facilitating mobility among Americans."*[1]

Clark further dramatized inequality in educational opportunity by pointing out that: "The class and social organization of American public schools consistently makes for a lower quality of education in the less privileged schools."[2] The traditional exits from lower class and ghetto life have been blocked.

Public education long has been viewed as a means to provide Missouri's youth with skills which enable them to escape poverty and join the mainstreams of society. However, now, most poor young people are in overcrowded and inadequate schools which are as a practical matter segregated by race and by class and which are stigmatized by the community. They have little or no contact with the more advantaged youth and they are outside the formal channels that lead to skilled employment. They are frequently taught by teachers who are less able or less experienced and who expect less of them. Contrary to wide-spread belief, recent federal efforts to make available more aid to inner-city schools have not appreciably affected the disparity between the resources of these schools and those of other schools within the same city and better-financed suburban school systems. Denied participation in the American dream, they move hopelessly and permanently away from aspirations of self-fulfillment and into what James Gavin and Arthur Hadley have termed the "underculture of poverty." Overwhelmingly, those who make it into the mainstream of urban life are white, and those who fail are black.[3]

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[1] Kenneth B. Clark, "American Education Today" in Meyer Weinberg, ed. Integrated Education, Beverly Hills, California: The Glencoe Press, 1968. p. 3.

[2] Ibid. p. 2.

[3] As noted by William A. Harrison, Jr. in "The Public and the Public Schools–The Need to Build a New Sense of Community," Special Report, Washington, D.C.: National Committee for Support of the Public Schools, March 1968. p. 1.

The Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas are faced with a welter of social problems which have been generated in part by the failures of education. Evidence abounds to support a case for educational reform. The disparity between the best and the worst standard of living is widening. Moreover, there is every indication that accompanying disparities in educational opportunity exist and will continue to grow. The absurdity of an implicit policy of providing the most and best education for those who need it least, and conversely, the least and poorest education for those who need it most, is clear. Coleman's study, for example, revealed that the impact of good schools is greatest in lower class neighborhoods, and is least in upper class neighborhoods. Stated differently, children from upper class families do very well regardless of the quality of their education, while children in the ghetto have a strong dependency on the schools to provide social and economic mobility.[1]

The social and cultural implications of suburbanization and the city-suburb stratification in the St. Louis and Kansas City metropolitan areas pose a major problem in the achievement of equality of educational opportunity. It is said that John Dewey used to hope, naively, that the schools could be a community somewhat better than society and serve as a lever for social change. In fact, the schools in Missouri reflect the society closely, except that they emphasize many of its worst features. It is in this context of great frustrations resulting from laws and programs which promise but do not deliver, from continued deprivation, from discrimination and prejudice in a society increasingly prosperous, that the problems of providing education must be viewed. The structure for education in the metropolitan areas of Missouri should unite rather than fragment efforts to provide good schools.

It is more than a tautology to insist that citizens in every part of the metropolitan area should participate in setting educational policy for the whole area. The social and educational interests of all urban citizens are inextricably related. The quality of life, and of education, must be a concern of everyone in the metropolitan community. As long as citizens, city dwellers and suburbanites alike, can remain apathetic to the inadequacies of education in any segment of the metropolitan area, the current social and educational crisis will continue to exist. Public education in the metropolitan areas of Missouri must reflect a sound commitment to redeem promises and ideals by opening its doors to cultural, racial, and economic deprived minority groups in such a way that they can become full participants in the metropolitan life with truly equal opportunity.

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[1] James S. Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 737 pp. 1966. Also see Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967, 2 vols.

ECONOMIC FORCES AND EDUCATION

Making adequate provision for the highest possible quality of educational programs in elementary and secondary schools in metropolitan areas is sound public policy. Recent research shows the high relationship between the level of education of persons and their income.[1] Money spent on education is a good investment; it provides a good rate of return to individuals, corporations, cities, states, and the nation as a whole. The economic progress of Missouri and of the St. Louis and Kansas City metropolitan areas, their future attractiveness to industry and business, and the future well-being of their citizens, both young and old, depends heavily on the provision of the best possible educational system.

All major metropolitan areas across the nation are faced with educational deficits. The metropolitan areas of Missouri are not exceptions. The economic forces pressing hardest against all metropolitan areas can be viewed in the context of dramatic changes in population. The growth of the great metropolitan areas of the United States is a twentieth century phenomenon. In 1960, over 60 percent of the population lived in the 189 standard metropolitan areas identified by the Bureau of Census. It has been predicted that by 1980 between 75 and 80 percent of the population is likely to live in metropolitan areas. According to Campbell, 73 percent of the population of Missouri will live in ten counties (Buchanan, Cass, Clay, Franklin, Greene, Jackson, Jefferson, Platte, St. Charles, St. Louis, and City of St. Louis) by 1990 and that the majority of people will live in the St. Louis, Kansas City, Springfield, and St. Joseph metropolitan areas.[2] Many of the metropolitan immigrants have one characteristic in common; access to only a minimum of educational opportunities over the years. They and their children and children's children are not readily absorbed into the highly specialized economy of today.

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[1] See Charles S. Benson, The Economics of Public Education, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968. Chapters 1 - 3.

[2] Rex R. Campbell, Population and Higher Education in Missouri, 1960 - 1975. University of Missouri, 1967.

Their housing conditions in most cities and poorer suburbs are deplorable and their educational needs continue to be very great. At the same time, moving out of the cities have been the newly affluent middle class. They have higher levels of education; they move to the suburbs and build new schools. They have deprived the city of its leadership potential. To a serious extent, they have taken with them the potential they represented for solving the fiscal and human problems of the cities. These simultaneous movements involving an unbelievably large number of people have converged to present every metropolitan area in the country with acute fiscal disparities. The metropolitan areas of St. Louis and Kansas City show an increasing isolation of economic classes and a widening gap between the middle and lower class. This is a problem particularly crucial to the once dynamic central cities.

Between 1950 and 1960, in the 23 largest metropolitan areas of the nation, the white population, aged 20-40, living in the suburbs, rose from 42.7 percent to 55.1 percent. In addition, the number of families with more than $10,000 yearly income has increased in the suburbs at more than twice the rate of increase than in the central city.[1] Associated with this decline of capital, human and fiscal, in the central cities, is a rise in the cost of educational services, the need and, indeed, demand by the citizens of the central cities for the more expensive vocational and technical programs, and the need for increasing amounts of intensive instruction of a compensatory nature for growing lower class populations. The disproportionate service needs for students who are seriously handicapped, mentally or physically or socially, has caused unique problems for the city school districts.

Suburban expenditures for education have risen rapidly in recent years and now exceed the levels of the central cities in many instances. This development has occurred in spite of the obviously greater educational needs in the cities. Benson indicates that "the squeeze is felt most acutely in the schools serving those middle-class families that have chosen so far to remain in the city. Their schools are less good than what their local tax dollars would buy for them in the suburbs."[2] Benson goes on to indicate that "we thus have a situation of cumulative deterioration since one of the most effective means of raising the school performance of disadvantaged youth and ultimately the school performance of the next generation of urban residents is to place these students among high performing white students; in other words, to achieve schools truly integrated by social class. The present financial system drives the middle-class white household out into the suburbs closing this avenue to higher performance in city schools. To attain acceptable standards of school performance in the central city requires even more dollars which in turn accelerates the white exodus."[1]

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[1] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967, Vol. I. pp. 18 - 20.

[2] Benson, op. cit. p. 326.

A most significant set of economic implications concerns the role of the state in financing education in metropolitan areas. Sacks and Ranney have demonstrated that a great portion of the educational disparities between suburbs and cities can be explained by state aid patterns.[2] In a recent analysis of the Missouri foundation aid program for local school districts, it is reported that three conclusions seem inescapable:

1. This plan guarantees that the most wealthy district in the state will have available at least two and one-half times the amount per pupil as the least wealthy district on the basis of tax levies;
2. It guarantees inequalities of opportunity for the children in the state insofar as these opportunities are affected by the financial support available; and
3. The so-called foundation program is a foundation program in name only.[3]

State policies with regard to the financing of elementary and secondary education play a powerful role in maintaining educational disparities within the St. Louis and Kansas City metropolitan areas. Addressing itself to this problem in its national aspects, the Carnegie Corporation stated in late 1966 that:

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[1] Ibid. p. 327.

[2] Seymour Sacks and David C. Ranney, "Suburban Education: A Fiscal Analysis," in Marilyn Gettell (ed.) Educating an Urban Population, Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc. 1967. pp. 60-76.

[3] Edgar L. Morphet and R. L. Johns, Planning and Financing Education for the Future–A Report for the Missouri Governor's Conference on Education, 1968, Columbia, Missouri: 1968 Governor's Conference, November, 1968. p. 30.

> *"The nation is devoting many more resources to educating suburban children than city children, or to put it another way, it is spending much more money to educate the children of the well-off than the children of the poor. Every shred of available evidence points to the conclusion that education needs of the poor children are far greater than those of affluent children. By any measure one wants to use, pupil performance on tests, drop-out rate, proportions of students going on to higher education, the output of the schools in the depressed areas of the cities is very much poorer than that of the suburbs. There is little reason to believe that even to equalize treatment would begin to close the gap. To achieve the substance rather than merely the theoretical form of equal educational opportunity, requires the application of unequal resources; more, rather than less, to students from poor homes. It is clear that the kind of money that is needed simply cannot be raised by cities from local sources alone."*[1]

It is probably safe to say that no issue of public policy is more politically sensitive to a metropolitan community than the way in which public services are financed. It is a pocketbook issue for every resident of the metropolitan area. Persons and communities with special interests in the present fiscal system and particularly in the locally administered property tax have political strength. This condition has produced a number of rather sobering conclusions for the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas. First, if the present system continues, greater inequalities in educational opportunities will persist and grow. Second, it is unlikely that under the present structure any significant progress in social, economic, and racial integration of metropolitan communities can be achieved. Finally, it is probable that the present financial structure will effectively prevent shaping or influencing by conscious public policy the way in which the metropolitan areas of Missouri develop.

It is not realistic to suggest actions as a single metropolitan community in planning and guiding metropolitan growth and development while at the same time attempting to perpetuate a fiscal system which divides the area into dozens and dozens of separate and autonomous parts. Equal access to education can probably not be financed in the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas unless there is a remarkable increase in the sense of community in both city and suburb. Thus, a plan must be formulated to reverse the present condition wherein the access to educational services relates not to the need for such services, but is dominated by district size, tax and revenue considerations. Alkin poses the following question in regard to this concern: "What is the desirable governmental form for educational units that would increase supply (equalize financial ability) and raise demand (create vocal groups with high level of educational aspirations) in most districts?"[1] The postulated solution to these issues is the creation of school districts that are

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[1] Carnegie Corporation, Carnegie Quarterly, Vol. XIV, Number 4, Fall, 1966.

COMPARABLE IN FINANCIAL RESOURCES AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS;

THAT ARE INTERNALLY HOMOGENEOUS:

THAT ARE COMPETITIVE WITH NON-SCHOOL AND OTHER SCHOOL GOVERNMENTS:

AND THAT ARE OF SUCH A SIZE THAT THEY ARE FREE FROM THE LIMITATIONS IMPOSED BY EXISTENCE OF ECONOMIES AND WASTEFULNESS OF SCALE.

Louis metropolitan areas are described in greater detail in Chapter II. These disparities demand the design of an economic system for financing education that enables all communities within each area to implement equal educational opportunity. The contrasts between city and suburb have claimed most of the attention to this point. However, suburbia does not present a uniform picture of affluence. On the contrary, suburbia fairly bristles with deep diversities between rich, poor, and middle income jurisdictions. For example, in the St. Louis area the economic differences between Clayton and Kinloch are immense; similarly, in the Kansas City area the fiscal disparity existing between the Cener and Belton districts is substantial. The goal, then, is to create a financial environment that is more conducive to equality of access to education for the entire metropolitan area, recognizing that the metropolitan areas are economic and social units for the purpose of financing educational services, just as they are so viewed for the purpose of personal and business decisions.

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[1] Marvin C. Alkin, "Revenue for Education in Metropolitan Areas," Robert J. Havighurst (ed.) Metropolitanism: Its Challenge to Education op. cit. p. 133.

Also see Seymour Sacks and David C. Ranney, "Suburban Education: A Fiscal Analysis," in Marilyn Gittell (ed.) Educating an Urban Population, Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1967. pp. 60 - 76.

CONSEQUENCES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION

The metropolitan areas of St. Louis and Kansas City are essentially the products of uncoordinated growth of social, economic, and political aspects of urban life. Their current status can be described in the terms of political scientists as "a pandemonium of parochialism"[1] or "formless urbanization."[2] This has resulted in educational governments evolving without design or plan. The earlier pages of this chapter have dealt with a variety of political, economic, and social circumstances affecting educational opportunity in metropolitan areas. Problems facing educational institutions are intensified by the mobility and rapid development of a highly industrialized society. It has been substantiated that the social, political, and economic problems of metropolitan areas cannot be solved by independent action of the educational establishment.

The achievement of social and economic integration in the urban society of Missouri and the provision of equal access to educational opportunities must be based on the following principles: the recognition of the interdependence of suburbs and city and the mobilization of human resources to develop a truly metropolitan community of interest.

Levine and Havighurst have stated that "unless educational and other major social services are organized and provided in a manner congruent with the patterns according to which people live and the problems and goals of the population they serve, education can hardly be carried out with the effectiveness, efficiency, and economy needed to maintain the vitality of a complex industrial society."[3] The political, economic, and social climate for education must make the type and location of city and suburban educational services a major concern to all residents of the metropolitan area. The future of metropolitan education in Missouri depends in large part on whether a pattern of strong resistance to change can be overcome through cooperative educational planning. The primary challenge to all citizens in the metropolitan areas of the state is to design a political strategy necessary to the development of the social and political institutions which can capitalize on the tremendous human resources available in the metropolitan communities. The recognition of the interdependence of the cultural, economic, educational, and political institutions in the urban areas of Missouri can make it possible to organize urban life for maximum advantage to all citizens.

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[1] Roscoe C. Martin, op. cit. p. 142.

[2] Lewis Mumford, The Urban Prospect, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968, p. 112.

[3] Daniel U. Levine and Robert J. Havighurst, Emerging Urban Problems and Their Significance for School District Organization in the Great Plain States, Lincoln, Nebraska: Great Plains School District Organization Project, 1968. p. 1.

CHAPTER II

THE ENVIRONMENT FOR EDUCATION IN THE KANSAS CITY AND ST. LOUIS METROPOLITAN AREAS–DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM

The state of Missouri is experiencing most of its increase in population in the two geographically separated areas of St. Louis and Kansas City. This is occurring in an age when large urban centers are tending to become synonymous with the increasingly serious social, political, economic, and educational problems. It is the primary purpose of this chapter to concentrate on those aspects of metropolitanism which produce important consequences for the provision of equal access to educational opportunity in these two major metropolitan areas. The analysis contains descriptions of basic population trends and an examination of specific characteristics of income, educational level, race and governing structures in the St. Louis and Kansas City areas. Additional analysis are made of the current status of relationships between educational needs and the quantity and quality of resources available in the separate school districts of these two Missouri metropolitan areas.

The U.S. Bureau of the Budget has established a standard definition for metropolitan areas as follows:

> "The general concept of a metropolitan area is one of an integrated economic and social unit with a recognized large population nucleus. Each standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA) contains at least one central city with at least 50,000 inhabitants or more. The SMSA includes the county of such a central city and the adjacent counties that are found to be metropolitan in character and economically and socially integrated with the county of the central city . . . the largest city is considered the nucleus and usually gives the name and the area . . . SMSA's may cross state lines."[1]

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[1] Statistical Abstract of the United States–1968, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967. p. 897

The Kansas City and St. Louis Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, which are among the 25 largest metropolitan areas in the nation, are comprised of the following governmental units:

1. St. Louis Missouri-Illinois SMSA:
    - St. Louis City, Missouri
    - Franklin County, Missouri
    - Jefferson County, Missouri
    - St. Charles County, Missouri
    - St. Louis County, Missouri
    - Madison County, Illinois
    - St. Clair County, Illinois
2. Kansas City, Missouri-Kansas SMSA:
    - Cass County, Missouri
    - Clay County, Missouri
    - Jackson County, Missouri
    - Platte County, Missouri
    - Johnson County, Kansas
    - Wyandotte County, Kansas

Certain important data are readily available only in accordance with these SMSA descriptions. It should be noted, however, that since the provisions for education in Missouri are the primary focus of this document (and school districts never extend over state lines), the definition of the two metropolitan areas for analysis herein shall be:

1. Kansas City Metropolitan Area
    - Cass County
    - Clay County
    - Jackson County
    - Platte County
2. St. Louis Metropolitan Area*
    - St. Louis City
    - St. Louis County
    - St. Charles County
    - Jefferson County

Whenever possible the illustrative data used will correspond to this more restrictive definition and to the school districts contained therein.

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*Franklin County is included in the Meramec Regional School District.

CHARACTERISTICS OF METROPOLITAN MISSOURI

The two major metropolitan areas of Missouri have experienced substantial population change, both in terms of number of people and their location. There has been a decrease in the proportion of total metropolitan population which live within the city boundaries of Kansas City and St. Louis. Table I illustrates the redistribution of people from the central cities to the surrounding suburban areas. Between 1950 and 1960, the percent of population increase for Kansas City was 4.2, while population increased by 57.5 percent in the metropolitan areas outside the city. The increase in Kansas City population can undoubtedly be attributed to annexation, rather than positive population growth. In St. Louis there was an absolute population decline of over 12 percent, while the adjoining suburban areas were showing a 51.9 percent population growth.

TABLE I

POPULATION CHANGE IN KANSAS CITY AND ST. LOUIS SMSA'S CENTRAL CITY AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY–1950-1960

SMSA	CENTRAL CITY		OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY	
	1960	% of Change Since 1950	1960	% of Change Since 1950
Kansas City	476,000	4.2%	564,000	57.5%
St. Louis	750,026	-12.5%	1,310,077	51.9%
United States (all SMSA's)	58,004,334	10.7%	54,880,844	48.6%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part A–Number of Inhabitants, Table 33.

Table II indicates that the population concentration in the Kansas City and St. Louis SMSA's continues. The increase during the first five years of this decade has exceeded six percent for both metropolitan areas. The continued population growth and its tendency to concentrate in the metropolitan areas adjacent to the central cities is of critical importance to the provision of educational services. The accompanying decentralization of business and commerce can hasten the decay of the cities and cause significant disparities in the levels of all public services, including education.

TABLE II

POPULATION CHANGES IN ST. LOUIS AND KANSAS CITY STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, APRIL 1960–JULY, 1965

SMSA	POPULATIONS IN 1,000's		PERCENT OF CHANGE	COMPONENTS OF CHANGE	
	APRIL 1 1960	JULY 1 1965		NATURAL INCREASE	NET MIGRATION
Kansas City	1,093	1,183	8.3%	82	9
St. Louis	2,105	2,249	6.8%	146	-3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Budget, Statistical Abstract of the United States - 1967, Metropolitan Area Statistics, p. 898.

The population shifts from rural to urban areas and from city to suburb would be cause enough for concern to education even if the population which was shifting displayed random socio-economic characteristics. There is considerable evidence, however, to show that the higher income, better-educated white citizens are moving out of the central cities, while the low-income, non-white citizens with less education are remaining. Data from 1965 individual income returns reflect the extent to which non-white family income under $3,000 is the rule in both Kansas City and St. Louis SMSA's. Table III, IV, and V also show that the lower economic level non-white family in a "poverty area" in over five out of six cases. Although median family income for the central city residents, both in Kansas City and St. Louis, has increased, 1965 data reveal that the gap between city and suburban family income is widening.[1]

TABLE III

SELECTED ECONOMIC FACTORS BASED ON 1965 INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RETURNS FOR KANSAS CITY AND ST. LOUIS SMSA'S

SMSA	Percent of Returns With Adjusted Gross Income Under $3,000	Percent of White Families Below $3,000 Income Level	Percent of Non-White Fam. Below $3,000 Income Level	Percent of Non-White Fam. in Poverty Areas
Kansas City	26.8	23.2*	51.7	86.7
St. Louis	26.4	8.9	42.1	86.9

*Kansas City population includes substantial numbers of Mexican-Americans.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Metropolitan Area Statistics–1967 reprinted from Emerging Urban Problems and Their Significance for School District Organization in the Great Plains States, Daniel U. Levine and Robert J. Havighurst, 1968.

TABLE IV

PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME MORE THAN $10,000 AND UNDER $3,000 IN THE KANSAS CITY AND ST. LOUIS AREAS

Unit	SMSA		Urbanized Areas		Central City		Urban Fringe		Central City Non-White	
	% over $10,000	% under $3,000	% over $10,000	% under $3,000	% over $10,000	% under $3,000	% over $10,000	% under $3,000	% over $10,	% under $3,000
Kansas City	17.3	14.1	17.8	13.9	15.5	17.6	20.2	10.0	4.1	36.5
St. Louis	16.9	15.1	17.6	15.3	10.8	21.7	23.1	10.2	4.3	39.5

Source: Computed from U.S. Bureau of Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Washington, D.C., 1961.

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[1] U.S. Bureau of Census, Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 48, April 25, 1966.

TABLE V

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME IN 1959 IN KANSAS CITY AND ST. LOUIS AREAS

Unit	SMSA	Urbanized Area	Central City	Urban Fringe	Central City Non-White
Kansas City	$6,317	$6,381	$5,906	$6,828	$4,001
St. Louis	$6,257	$6,301	$5,355	$7,081	$3,718

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Washington, D.C. 1961.

The disparities in income characteristics between cities and their suburbs within each metropolitan area is reflected also in the level of educational attainment of their populations. In all urban areas of the nation over 40 percent of the city residents, age 25 and older, have completed high school. The comparable figures for central city non-whites is 28.3 percent; while for citizens residing in the metropolitan area outside the city, it is 50.9 percent. Tables VI and VII indicate that the St. Louis and Kansas City SMSA's and central cities reflect similar differences in distribution of population according to level of educational attainment.

TABLE VI

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF PERSONS 25 YEARS AND OLDER IN ST. LOUIS AND KANSAS CITY SMSA'S BASED ON PERCENT WITH FOUR YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL OR MORE EDUCATION

Urbanized Area	Percent of Persons With Four Years High School or More		
	Central City	Urban Fringe	Central City Non-White
Kansas City	46.8	53.4	16.7
St. Louis	26.3	43.3	20.2
All Urbanized Areas in United States	40.9	50.9	28.3

Source: Computed from U.S. Bureau of Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Washington, D.C., 1961.

TABLE VII

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT FOR KANSAS CITY AND ST. LOUIS AREAS BASED ON MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED–1960

UNIT	MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED	
Kansas City SMSA	12.0	
Kansas City		11.5
Cass County		11.2
Clay County		12.1
Jackson County		11.6
Platte County		11.7
St. Louis SMSA	9.7	
St. Louis City		8.8
Jefferson County		8.9
St. Charles County		9.0
St. Louis City		11.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Social and Economic Characteristics, Washington, D.C., 1961.

It seems clear that the proportion of non-whites in the cities of St. Louis and Kansas City has been increasing, while the proportion in the suburban areas has been decreasing. This larger proportion of non-white population in the city of St. Louis and Kansas City helps to account for the disparities in income and level of educational attainment between the city and suburban metropolitan areas.

The pressure of the increasing proportion of non-white population in St. Louis and Kansas City causes an even more substantial increase in the proportion of public school enrollment which is non-white. Table VIII shows for 1960 that the ratio of non-whites to whites is over 20 percent higher in the school population for St. Louis than in the total population. In Kansas City, a comparable discrepancy exists.

TABLE VIII

NON-WHITE POPULATION CONTRASTED WITH NON-WHITE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, 1960

City	Non-White Percent of Total Population	Non-White Percent of School Population	Difference
St. Louis	28.6	48.8	20.2
Kansas City	10.9	29.3	18.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Selected Area Reports, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas and General Social Economic Characteristics, 1961.

The changing social and economic status of the metropolitan areas of Kansas City and St. Louis is characterized by several factors: (1) location of residence—city or suburb; (2) income level; (3) level of educational attainment; and (4) racial composition of the population. It is against this background that current educational needs, quantity and quality of fiscal resources, and organization in the St. Louis and Kansas City metropolitan areas is considered.

EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE AND RESOURCE ALLOCATION

Considerable differences exist in the population characteristics of cities and suburbs. The result of these characteristics is demonstrated in Table IX. The sections of the metropolitan areas outside the central cities of St. Louis and Kansas City tend to devote more fiscal resources to their schools; e.g., $156.54 per capita in Kansas City suburbs compared to $75.09 in the city. The levels of current educational expenditure per pupil, which are a rough index of the quality of education provided, indicate that Kansas City surpasses its adjacent areas slightly, while the suburbs of St. Louis spend over 10 percent more per pupil than does the city of St. Louis. With respect to the amount of per capita funds spent for education (exclusive of state aids) the metropolitan areas outside the cities have over twice the resources available to the cities. This analysis of differential resources allocated for education within the St. Louis and Kansas City metropolitan areas also demonstrates the inequities of the current program of state aids for education.

TABLE IX

CURRENT EXPENDITURE PER PUPIL, TOTAL EXPENDITURE PER CAPITA, AND TOTAL NON-AIDED (LOCAL) EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURES PER CAPITA, FOR ST. LOUIS AND KANSAS CITY, CENTRAL CITY AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY AREAS: 1962

City	Current Educational Expenditures Per Pupil		Total Educational Expenditures Per Capita		Total Non-Aided Educational Expenditures Per Capita	
	Central City	Outside Central City	Central City	Outside Central City	Central City	Outside Central City
Kansas City	$409.19	$350.67	$75.09	$156.54	$54.40	$126.33
St. Louis	386.58	423.73	55.31	100.70	37.11	75.87

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Census of Governemnts, 1962.

There is little indication that the current educational organization pattern in the two major Missouri metropolitan areas will, or even can, substantially alter the circumstances described; in fact, there is good reason to believe that the present pattern of school district organization and the current structure for financing education may actually contribute to the increasing seriousness of the situation unless modified. Table X indicates by metropolitan area and by county the current number of operating school districts. Each of these school districts represents a taxing unit. They reflect a wide range of ability to provide educational services and are dysfunctional to the goal of eliminating fiscal and educational disparities and establishing metropolitan populations with a truly "community of interest."

TABLE X

NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN KANSAS CITY AND ST. LOUIS AREAS
JUNE – 1968

Region/County	Number of Dist. Operating Elem. & High Schools	Number of Dist. Operating Elementary Schools or None	Total Districts
Kansas City	29	35	64
Cass County	8	16	24
Clay County	5	17	22
Jackson County	12	2	14
Platte County	4	0	4
St. Louis	39	5	44
Jefferson County	8	5	13
St. Charles County	5	0	5
St. Louis County (including St. Louis City)	26	0	26

Source: Missouri State Department of Education.

Benson has questioned this pattern of school district organization in his "Statement on the Future of American Education" by asking whether the perpetuation of our present extreme degree of decentralization is necessary for the further improvement of the quality of education in the United States. In responding to this question, Benson indicated that undoubtedly the contrary was true and that quality education awaits some greater degree of centralization.[1]

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[1] Charles S. Benson, The Cheerful Prospect, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965.

METROPOLITAN AREA FISCAL DISPARITIES

The causes of "inequality of access to quality education" in the St. Louis and Kansas City metropolitan areas are complex. It has been indicated that the population in the two major metropolitan areas is being separated into distinct groups, the poor and the affluent, the well-educated and the poorly-educated, blacks and whites. The economic, social, and racial stratification of the cities and suburbs is reinforced by the manner in which school districts are financed. The following narrative and tables describe the fiscal disparities which exist, analyze the data in a metropolitan context, and contrast the financial conditions between city and suburb and suburb and suburb.

Table XI shows that Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan area schools are served by school districts ranging in size from under 500 enrollments in Lone Jack, Drexel, and Archie school districts to over 100,000 enrollees in the St. Louis city district. Moreover, high school districts in these two metropolitan areas have widely varying abilities to finance educational programs and the provision of school buildings, as noted in columns 2 - 4 in the table. Since education, like many other governmental functions in Missouri, is financed in large part from property taxes levied by local jurisdictions (school districts), the ability to support education is influenced significantly by the tax base available.

TABLE XI

ENROLLMENT (GRADES 1–12), ASSESSED VALUATION, BONDED INDEBTEDNESS, AND PERCENT BONDED INDEBTEDNESS/ASSESSED VAL. FOR HIGH SCHOOL DIST. OF KANSAS CITY METROPOLITAN AND EAST-WEST GATEWAY (ST.LOUIS) REGIONS

Kansas City Metropolitan Region School District	(1) 1966-67 Enrollment Grades 1–12	(2) 1966 Assessed Valuation	(3) Bonded Indebtedness	(4) Percent B.I. is of A.V.
Platte County				
West Platte	815	7,059,471	269,000	3.8
North Platte	686	5,799,957	336,000	5.8
Platte City	1,106	8,108,972	627,000	7.7
Park Hill	4,540	31,160,157	3,231,000	10.4

(Continued)

TABLE XI Continued

Kansas City Metropolitan Region School District	(1) 1966-67 Enrollment Grades 1–12	(2) 1966 Assessed Valuation	(3) Bonded Indebtedness	(4) Percent B.I. is of A. V.
Cass County				
Westline	539	3,034,411	569,000	18.8
Raymore-Peculiar	1,202	5,924,954	682,000	11.5
Pleasant Hill	1,215	6,875,303	462,000	6.7
Drexel	327	3,195,123	263,000	8.2
Archie	462	3,257,209	323,000	9.9
RVIII Sherwood	763	4,959,855	439,000	8.9
RIX Harrisonville	1,366	8,417,886	371,300	4.4
Belton	2,864	10,188,932	831,000	8.2
Clay County				
Kearney	722	5,317,130	420,000	7.9
Smithville	866	6,227,655	270,000	4.3
Excelsior Springs	2,590	14,726,743	1,067,582	7.2
Liberty	3,263	20,514,816	861,000	4.2
North Kansas City	19,268	178,711,384	14,257,000	8.0
Jackson County				
Fort Osage	3,338	14,374,740	1,126,000	7.8
Blue Springs	2,195	11,310,791	833,000	7.4
Grain Valley	523	2,474,980	226,000	9.1
Oak Grove	702	3,465,760	285,000	8.2
Lees Summit	4,833	37,434,698	3,285,000	8.8
Hickman Mills	12,190	58,409,700	5,897,000	10.1
Raytown	14,809	79,439,800	7,552,000	9.5
Grandview	4,570	30,245,000	2,475,000	8.2
Lone Jack	261	1,522,235	153,000	10.1
Independence	14,509	69,550,000	6,836,000	9.8
Kansas City	72,364	855,104,388	35,537,000	4.2
Center	5,392	53,967,600	5,304,000	9.8

East-West Gateway Region St. Louis School District	(1) 1966-67 Enrollment Grades 1–12	(2) 1966 Assessed Valuation	(3) Bonded Indebtedness	(4) Percent B.I. is of A. V.
Jefferson County				
R-I Northwest	5,072	18,546,495	2,581,500	13.9
R-III Hillsboro	1,908	7,574,396	1,232,000	16.3
RV Dunklin	1,821	7,146,250	541,000	7.6
RVI Festus	2,279	8,973,150	891,000	9.9
Windsor	907	3,959,260	190,000	4.8
Fox	5,725	18,821,670	1,718,000	9.1
Crystal City	1,167	8,927,180	640,000	7.2
DeSoto	2,000	7,377,290	531,000	7.2
St. Charles County				
R-III Frances Howell	3,184	17,842,120	1,800,000	10.1
R-IV Wentzville	2,028	12,220,123	1,060,000	8.7
RV St. Charles	1,375	21,113,200	966,500	4.6
R-II Ft. Zumwalt	3,439	24,089,813	2,359,000	9.8
St. Charles	6,498	46,425,331	4,517,000	9.7

(Continued)

TABLE XI Continued

East-West Gateway Region St. Louis School District	1966-67 Enrollment Grades 1–12	1966 Assessed Valuation	Bonded Indebtedness	Percent B.I. is of A. V.
St. Louis County				
St. Louis City	111,820	1,745,163,440	40,215,000	2.3
R-I Hazelwood	16,675	168,197,620	14,088,000	8.4
II Ferguson	16,178	144,553,790	11,555,000	8.0
III Pattonville	9,505	102,027,620	9,097,000	8.9
VI Rockwood	6,534	60,719,240	5,640,000	9.3
VII Kirkwood	9,618	113,581,376	7,738,000	6.8
VIII Lindbergh	9,367	119,224,855	9,801,000	8.2
IX Mehlville	7,256	94,548,450	7,415,000	7.8
C-2 Parkway (Chesterfield)	11,020	122,325,230	10,034,000	8.2
Affton	3,934	66,027,470	4,256,000	6.4
Bayless	2,457	28,444,080	2,496,000	8.8
Berkeley	4,960	73,689,640	4,226,000	5.7
Brentwood	1,715	35,548,618	1,665,000	4.7
Clayton	2,267	91,896,090	2,815,000	3.1
Hancock Place	2,245	22,917,470	1,770,000	7.7
Jennings	2,802	57,282,890	1,356,000	2.4
Kinloch	1,478	3,516,390	348,000	9.9
Ladue	6,020	141,673,861	8,010,000	5.7
Maplewood-Richmond Hts.	2,994	46,106,360	1,965,000	4.3
Normandy	7,762	98,767,940	5,256,000	5.3
Ritenour	13,272	119,732,460	7,400,000	6.2
Riverview Gardens	8,898	90,876,200	8,783,000	9.7
University City	8,005	116,740,580	6,200,000	5.3
Valley Park	1,026	6,066,710	196,000	3.2
Webster Groves	7,912	99,978,440	7,895,000	7.9
Wellston	2,167	21,059,220	1,805,000	8.6

The particular variables used to illustrate the fiscal disparity present in the St. Louis and Kansas City metropolitan areas are:

(1) Assessed valuation per pupil enrolled in grades 1 - 12

This measure provides an indication of the local school district's ability to provide the resources necessary to finance a given level of education;

(2) Expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance

This figure reflects the total fiscal effort from all sources (state, local, federal) being made by the local school districts. While there are certain limitations associated with the use of current expenditure data, it does represent the good single indicator of the level or quality of education provided;

(3) Tax levy

This variable provides a measure of local tax burden or effort assumed by the residents of a school district for support of their educational services. It is important to recognize, however, that education is only one of the many public services financed through local property taxation. Depending upon the pressure exerted by resource requirements of other public services, there may exist a disparity in the ability of school districts to obtain the local property tax dollar. By and large, the centers of larger population concentrations are faced with this condition of unequal access to local tax resources referred to commonly as "municipal overburden." It should be noted that the tax levy data presented here reflects only the actual levy for educational purposes and does not reflect the total local tax pressure.

One additional consideration important to the use of the data presented in Tables XII and XIII is that assessment practices vary between and among the various taxing units (school districts). However, while unequal assessment ratios may bias the data slightly, the major conclusions or directions presented are not greatly disturbed.

Tables XII and XIII reveal that the fiscal conditions of present St. Louis and Kansas City metropolitan area school districts certainly fail to sustain the principle of equal access to educational opportunity. Since the school districts within each respective metropolitan area exist side by side, the comparison of fiscal conditions become even more meaningful. The data in Table XII show that in the Kansas City metropolitan area there is a direct relationship between available resources and expenditure per pupil. The school districts in Cass, Clay, Jackson, and Platte counties appear in virtually the same order when ranked from highest to lowest in assessed valuation and expenditure per pupil. The impact of low ability (assessed valuation) is illustrated by the condition in which the local rate of taxation is highest in the districts spending the least per pupil for educational services. In Jackson County, for example, the assessed valuation per pupil in the Kansas City and Center school districts is almost twice that of the Fort Osage school district. Their expenditures per pupil exceed Fort Osage's by over $100. At the same time, the residents of Fort Osage must pay higher taxes to support education in their district.

TABLE XII

RANK ORDER (BY COUNTIES) OF KANSAS CITY METROPOLITAN REGION SCHOOL DISTRICT: ASSESSED VALUATION PER PUPIL ENROLLED (GRADES 1–12), CURRENT EXPENDITURE PER PUPIL IN AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE, AND SCHOOL TAX LEVY, 1966-67

School District	(1) Assessed Valuation Per Pupil Enrolled (1–12)	District	(2) Expenditure Per Pupil in ADA	School District	(3) Tax Levy
	$		$		$
Platte County					
West Platte	8,662	West Platte	505.65	Park Hill	3.98
North Platte	8,455	Platte City	498.70	Platte City	3.60
Platte City	7,332	North Platte	485.42	North Platte	3.30
Park Hill	6,863	Park Hill	479.26	West Platte	3.10
Cass County					
Drexel	9,771	Belton	608.70	Westline	3.60
Archie	7,050	Sherwood	560.52	Raymore Peculiar	3.35
Sherwood	6,500	Drexel	488.66	Harrisonville	3.35
Harrisonville	6,162	Pleasant Hill	460.49	Pleasant Hill	3.30
Pleasant Hill	5,659	Harrisonville	456.04	Sherwood	3.30
Westline	5,630	Westline	449.71	Belton	2.92
Raymore Peculiar	4,929	Raymore Peculiar	442.17	Drexel	2.90
Belton	3,558	Archie	432.17	Archie	2.75
Clay County					
North Kansas City	9,275	Smithville	533.83	Liberty	4.49
Smithville	7,191	North Kansas City	464.56	North Kansas City	3.80
Kearney	6,887	Liberty	462.62	Kearney	3.65
Liberty	6,287	Kearney	437.98	Liberty	3.50
Excelsior Springs	5,686	Excelsior Springs	425.76	Excelsior Springs	3.50
Jackson County					
Kansas City	11,817	Kansas City	593.38	Hickman Mills	4.50
Center	10,009	Center	528.53	Lone Jack	4.35
Lees Summit	7,746	Grandview	497.07	Blue Springs	3.99
Grandview	6,618	Lees Summit	491.27	Grain Valley	3.99
Lone Jack	5,832	Lone Jack	487.07	Independence	3.95
Raytown	5,364	Oak Grove	475.79	Fort Osage	3.89
Blue Springs	5,153	Grain Valley	452.50	Lees Summit	3.85
Oak Grove	4,937	Raytown	440.17	Raytown	3.85
Independence	4,794	Hickman Mills	432.85	Oak Grove	3.84
Hickman Mills	4,792	Blue Springs	424.22	Grandview	3.70
Grain Valley	4,732	Independence	409.41	Center	3.40
Fort Osage	4,243	Fort Osage	401.49	Kansas City	3.15

The school districts in the St. Louis metropolitan area, Table XIII, reveal the same basic disparities as in the other region of Kansas City. The Clayton and Ladue school districts are at the top and Valley Park and Kinloch are on the bottom of both measures of ability and expenditure per pupil. The tax levy data, however, indicate that generally the school districts with the highest expenditure and ability have the lowest tax levies, while the less able school districts pay a higher tax rate for fewer dollars per pupil in educational expenditures. Clearly, the residents of the poorer school districts are paying more for fewer educational services.

It should also be noted that 24 of the 26 school districts in St. Louis County have greater assessed valuation per pupil than the wealthiest district in Jefferson County; that 15 school districts in St. Louis County have greater expenditures per pupil than any school district in St. Charles and Jefferson counties; and the highest tax rate in all three counties is found in the district (Fox) which has the lowest expenditure per pupil in the three-county area. With respect to expenditure per pupil, a measure of educational quality, the most affluent school districts in the St. Louis metropolitan area are spending from two to three times as much per pupil to purchase educational services.

TABLE XIII

RANK ORDER (BY COUNTIES) OF EAST-WEST GATEWAY REGION (ST. LOUIS) SCHOOL DISTRICTS: ASSESSED VALUATION PER PUPIL ENROLLED (GRADES 1–12), CURRENT EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL IN AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE, AND SCHOOL TAX LEVY 1966–67

School District	(1) Assessed Valuation Per Pupil Enrolled (1–12)	School District	(2) Expenditure Per Pupil in ADA	School District	(3) Tax Levy
	$		$		$
Jefferson County					
Crystal City	7,650	Crystal City	539.96	Fox	4.75
Windsor	4,365	Hillsboro	454.09	Northwest	4.38
Hillsboro	3,970	Festus	446.54	Windsor	4.25
Festus	3,937	DeSoto	425.54	Hillsboro	4.25
Dunklin	3,924	Dunklin	410.24	DeSoto	4.20
DeSoto	3,689	Northwest	405.35	Dunklin	4.05
Northwest	3,657	Windsor	387.35	Festus	3.95
Fox	3,288	Fox	372.38	Crystal City	3.70
St. Charles County					
St. Charles (R-V)	15,355	Wentzville	484.19	St. Charles	3.90
St. Charles	7,145	St. Charles (R-V)	481.11	Wentzville	3.69
Ft. Zumwalt	7,005	St. Charles	467.39	Francis Howell	3.55
Wentzville	6,026	Ft. Zumwalt	448.52	Ft. Zumwalt	3.42
Francis Howell	5,604	Francis Howell	415.51	St. Charles (R-V)	2.45

(Continued)

TABLE XIII Continued

School District	(1) Assessed Valuation Per Pupil Enrolled (1–12)	School District	(2) Expenditure Per Pupil in ADA	School District	(3) Tax Levy
	$		$		$
St. Louis City/County					
Clayton	40,536	Clayton	1,316.26	Parkway	4.35
Ladue	23,534	Ladue	854.06	Wellston	4.24
Brentwood	20,728	University City	795.28	Kinloch	4.23
Jennings	19,876	Jennings	785.96	Kirkwood	4.20
Affton	16,784	Brentwood	782.46	Hazelwood	4.15
St. Louis City	15,607	Maplewood	660.94	Webster Groves	4.07
Maplewood	15,400	Affton	660.44	Ferguson	3.98
Berkeley	14,857	Wellston	629.62	Valley Park	3.89
University City	14,583	Normandy	627.70	Rockwood	3.85
Mehlville	13,031	Webster Groves	621.26	University City	3.72
Lindbergh	12.728	Kirkwood	607.76	Riverview Gardens	3.71
Normandy	12,725	Pattonville	601.14	Pattonville	3.62
Webster Groves	12,636	St. Louis City	587.53	Mehlville	3.58
Kirkwood	11,809	Berkeley	551.48	Hancock Place	3.58
Bayless	11,577	Riverview Gardens	544.16	Lindbergh	3.50
Parkway	11,100	Lindbergh	527.67	Affton	3.41
Pattonville	11,073	Mehlville	527.40	Normandy	3.39
Riverview Gardens	10,213	Bayless	505.89	Bayless	3.36
Hancock Place	10,208	Rockwood	505.56	Ritenour	3.35
Hazelwood	10,208	Parkway	504.40	Ladue	3.25
Wellston	9,718	Ferguson	494.96	Berkeley	3.20
Rockwood	9,293	Hazelwood	491.30	Brentwood	3.13
Ritenour	9,021	Ritenour	484.01	Maplewood	3.10
Ferguson	8,935	Hancock Place	425.59	Jennings	2.87
Valley Park	5,913	Valley Park	431.24	Clayton	2.82
Kinloch	2,379	Kinloch	425.81	St. Louis City	2.51

A disparity in access to education exists in both the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas. This disparity is spotlighted not only in increasing racial, social, and economic differences which affect the environment for living but also as expected in the financial patterns of school districts. These data illustrate the existence of substantial educational disparities between city and suburb and between suburb and suburb in both metropolitan areas. Access to education can either encourage or discourage the process of separation in the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan communities. The data indicate that the practices of school organization and finance in Missouri do, in fact, reinforce educational stratification, rather than contribute to the general improvement of education for all youth. Not all the problems facing the metropolitan areas of Missouri today can be explained in terms of inequalities of education, but the resolution of this crisis in education can contribute to the shaping of stronger and better metropolitan areas.

CHAPTER III

EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER THE LAW

Evidence has been presented in Chapter II to show that gross inequalities in educational opportunity exist in the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas. The principal conclusion to be drawn from this evidence is that the present system is morally and socially indefensible. As observed by the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders, "We cannot escape the responsibility for choosing the future of our metropolitan areas and the human relations which develop within them. It is a responsibility so critical that even an unconscious choice to continue present policies has the gravest implications."[1]

The legal implications of the present provisions for public education in Kansas City and St. Louis are examined in this chapter. The following section focuses on the philosophical definitions of equality and liberty and the apparent conflict between the two. The legal case for equality of educational opportunity is developed in Section II. The chapter ends with a discussion of methods to achieve educational equality within a state.

I. EQUALITY AND LIBERTY

The concept of equality has attracted the attention of jurists for centuries. From the 18th century struggle to disestablish the church to the recent school desegregation cases, the courts have sought to interpret constitutional provisions guaranteeing equal rights to all, special privileges to no one. The interaction between the courts and various reform groups, including those who gave early impetus and direction to public schools, has produced two definitions of equality which are in conflict. The legal definition is a negative one. This is so because the courts' powers are essentially negative, not affirmative. The doctrine as advanced by the courts prohibits discrimination on account of race, religion, sex, national origin, income, residence, or any other "artificial" or

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[1] National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders, Report of the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders, March, 1968, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 408.

"factitious" grounds. The reformers, on the other hand, have generally interpreted equality to mean liberty or the right to get ahead the means for social mobility. This emphasis explains the traditional competitive ethic of the public schools and contributes to the current confrontation between the courts and the schools.

Reformers throughout history have aimed toward breaking down social and/or legal constraints to individual fulfillment. The sweeping away of constraints by the courts resulted in equal access--to the ballot box, to a job, to the marketplace, to the university, or to a desirable neighborhood. Thus the doctrine of equality became the doctrine of liberty. For example, the slogan of the equal rights movement for women was: "Careers open to talent. Every man for himself, every woman for herself . . ."[1] Tom Watson similarly expressed himself in support of liberty: "Close no entrance to the poorest, the weakest, the humblest. Say to ambition everywhere 'the field is clear, the contest fair, come and win your share if you can' . . ."[2] Woodrow Wilson also articulated the credo of the reformers who saw equality as liberty with a heavy flavor of competition. "Let the race be to the strongest and swiftest,"[3] and in the same volume Wilson wrote, "What this country needs above everything else is a body of laws that will look after the men who are on the make."[4] Thus the doctrine of equal access provided encouragement for movements designed to made an open society even more open. Also, this doctrine planted the seed for public schools to promote social mobility.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AS BROKERS OF OPPORTUNITY

The advocates of public schools reflected the tenor of the times. They maintained that in an equalitarian society, the children of the poor and the rich should have equal chances to succeed. "Education prevents being poor," Horace Mann wrote in

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[1] Thomas W. Higginson, Women and the Alphabet, Boston, 1900, pp. 21-22.

[2] Quoted in C. Van Woodward, Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel, New York, 1938, p. 217.

[3] Woodrow Wilson, The New Freedom, A Call for the Emancipation of the Generous Energies of People, New York, 1913, p. 263.

[4] Wilson, The New Freedom, p. 17.

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1848.[1] Later Mann expanded this philosophy: "Education, then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men—the balance-wheel of the social machinery."[2] Another chief state school officer voiced a similar view: "The common school is the only plan which is properly in keeping with our republican institution. It is predicated on the maxim that all men are born free and equal; which equality is preserved until destroyed by the varying degrees of personal merit."[3]

Mann's "balance-wheel of social machinery" was soon tossed out of alignment by the changing ethnicity or, stated bluntly, the immigrant problem in the cities. Like the black citizens today, the immigrants and their children settled among their own kind. By 1911 three out of five public school children in 37 of the nation's major cities were the children of immigrants.[4] Older established residents of the city fled from the "invasion" of new residents. Then, as now, men of professed goodwill issued warnings about the decline of the city. Cubberley in 1909 considered the newcomers as inferior to the natives: "Illiterate, docile, lacking in self-reliance and initiative, and not possessing the Anglo-Teutonic conceptions of law, order, and government, their coming has served to dilute tremendously our national stock and to corrupt our civic life."[5]

The educators were thus responding to a frustration caused by the clash between the competitive ethic of the schools and the cultural heritage of the learners. Some children were so severely handicapped by virtue of their backgrounds that they could not be expected to compete as equals or even to finish the race. Everyone hoped to ease the crisis in the cities by making useful citizens out of the children of the newcomers. However, like most contemporary educators, they assumed that only the newcomers and not the receiving culture or its schools had to change.

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[1] Massachusetts, Twelfth Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1848, Boston, 1849, p. 60.

[2] Ibid, p. 59.

[3] Quoted in Edith Abbott and Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Truancy and Non-Attendance in the Chicago Schools, Chicago, 1917, p. 373.

[4] U.S. Congress, Senate Reports of the Immigration Commission, S. Doc. 747, 61st Cong., 1st Sess., 1911, Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission, II, 17.

[5] Ellwood P. Cubberley, Changing Conceptions of Education, Boston, 1909, p. 15.

II. EQUAL PROTECTION AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

It was with this historical perspective that the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954 presented its view on the purpose of education and held that education must be made available equally within a state:

> *Today education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education in our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.*[1]

The *Brown v. Board of Education* decision raises a serious legal question about the disparity of educational opportunity within a state. The question as stated by Kurland is: "Whether the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment compels a state to afford equal educational facilities–instruction, counseling, housing, etc.–to all students attending the public schools within its domain, without regard to where they live, the wealth of their local community, or the community's desire to spend its assets on public education."[2] While holding reservations about the wisdom of such action on the part of the judiciary, Professor Kurland predicts an affirmative answer to his question: "I am prepared to make the necessary prophecy. I should tell you then with some assurance, that sooner or later the Supreme Court will affirm the proposition that a State is obliged by the Equal Protection Clause to afford equal educational opportunity to all of its public school students."[3]

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[1] 347 U.S. 493.

[2] Philip B. Kurland, "Equal Educational Opportunity or the Limits of Constitutional Jurisprudence Undefined," The Quality of Inequality: Urban and Suburban Public Schools, University of Chicago Press, 1968, p. 47.

[3] Ibid, p. 47.

Legal scholars who have studied the issue have advanced three arguments for a constitutional principle of equal educational opportunity based on the Equal Protection Clause. First, that a state educational system may not discriminate on the basis of color. The *Brown v. Board of Education* decision is cited as the principal source on this point. A second argument revolves around the principle enunciated in *Baker v. Carr*[1] and other cases pertaining to reapportionment. These decisions hold that the state may not discriminate among the rights of citizens on the basis of arbitrary geographical lines drawn to establish local governmental units. Finally, the U.S. Supreme Court has held that governmental discrimination may not be based on wealth. The decisions supporting this view generally pertain to the rights of indigent defendants. *Griffin v. Illinois*[2] is an example. However, suits have been filed by school districts in California, Michigan, Illinois, and Texas in the past two years charging that the state's system of financing public education, and by implication the provisions for district organization, violates the equal protection guarantees of the federal and state constitutions because the state does not provide a system that will effectively permit each child in the state to have an equal opportunity for education.

After examining provisions for public education in Missouri for 1968, Morphet and Johns concluded: "Many states including Missouri still permit or condone segregation of students on the basis of wealth of the district in which they reside, and perpetuate inequalities of opportunity by discriminatory provisions for financing schools. Such practices are indefensible, and in a short time may be considered illegal."[3] This observation by Morphet and Johns is supported by the data in Chapter II of this document.

These arguments and the cited cases certainly lend credibility to Professor Kurland's prediction. Except for the "when" question which must wait until the courts act, the major unanswered question concerns the basis of equality in educational opportunity.

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[1] 369 U.S. 186 (1962)

[2] 351 U.S. 12 (1956)

[3] Edgar L. Morphet and R.L. Johns, Planning and Financing Education for the Future, A Report for the Governor's Conference on Education, 1968, p. 32.

SIMILAR TREATMENT TO THOSE SIMILARLY SITUATED

Does equality in educaton mean that every child should have the same number of dollars spent on his education or that the curriculum must be the same in all schools? What is a reasonable classification of learners or schools within a state? Tussman and ten Broek have provided partial answers to these questions: "The Constitution does not require that things different in fact be treated in law as though they were the same. But it does require in its concern for equality, that those who are similarly situated be similarly treated. The measure of the reasonableness of a classification is the degree of its success in treating similarly those similarly situated."[1] Benson makes the same point: "The one universally accepted criterion of a public activity is that it affords equal treatment to equals. With respect to schooling, this implies that any two children of the same abilities shall receive equivalent forms of assistance in developing those abilities, wherever they live in a given state and whatever their parental circumstances are."[2]

Clearly, Benson, Tussman, and ten Broek are not implying sameness in the treatment of different types of pupils. Indeed, operationally their proposal would result in very unequal expenditure of dollars for learners within and between school districts. It includes the notion of compensating for conditions outside the control of the learner. If fully implemented, equality in a state school finance program might very well mean preferential rather than equal treatment for an impoverished school district. Moreover, it suggests that some attention be given to the outputs as well as the inputs of the educational system. Given two schools of equal quality, the one with a consistent record of low yield would be singled out for additional study and state assitance.

Thus the U.S. Constitution allows states to classify. Normally, however, such classification must bear some relation to the purpose of the law. Therefore, as Wise postulates: "The question becomes: Is the classification of students according to the tax base where they live sufficiently related to the purpose of the law to be considered reasonable?"[3] Wise concludes that such classification is unconstitutional and argues for a change in the school finance statutes in most states.

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[1] Joseph Tussman and Jacobus ten Broek. "Equal Protection of the Laws." California Law Review, XXXVII September 1949, p. 344.

[2] Charles S. Benson, The Cheerful Prospect. A Statement of the Future of Public Education. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965, p. 62.

[3] Arthur E. Wise, "The Constitution and Equal Educational Opportunity." The Quality of Inequality: Urban and Suburban Public Schools, University of Chicago Press, 1968, p. 30.

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III. ACHIEVING EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Any serious effort to make education equally accessible to all threatens alleged advantages of local control and many of the artifacts which have been created to perpetuate the present system. Even a proposal for a statewide system designed specifically to satisfy the legal requirements of equality (not uniformity) as outlined above would encounter serious resistance. Some see a conflict between progress and equality. Others, of course, wish to protect their current advantage. Both groups resist educational reform, arguing, in effect, that the present system, with possible minor modifications, is best.

Regardless of the sincerity of those who oppose educational reform, evidence abounds that the present system is not responding to the needs of many young citizens in the Kansas City or St. Louis metropolitan areas. The statistics in Chapter II of this report document this position. Also, two reports by the St. Louis Public Schools, *A Tale of Two Cities*[1] and *Hard Times and High Expectations*[2] present a convincing case for better schools in that city.

However, the problem is easier to identify than to correct. Three possible solutions offer some promise. One type of reform would be a plan to have the state collect all school revenues and distribute them to local districts. Some states have approximated this plan for years and one state, Hawaii, has but one school district. This plan would provide maximum opportunity to equalize tax efforts and provide the machinery for a distribution system calculated to achieve equality of educational opportunity. It should be noted that this proposal is normally limited to the production and distribution of revenue for the public schools. The operation of the schools is usually delegated to local or regional educational officers.

A second and widely used approach is a manipulation of state equalization formulas. Most states make some effort to tax wealth where it exists to educate children where they reside. The literature in educational finance is replete with schemes of this type. In fact, the ingenuity in some of these state aid formulas is nothing short of amazing. The constraints of varying conditions within local school districts, concentrations of wealth, and political realities have produced legislation that is exceedingly strange and complex. Also, most states have more than one formula and many have special laws for unique situations within the states. Some of the special laws apply to but one or a small group of districts. Clearly, the large number of school districts with varying educational needs and financial abilities has added to the complexity of producing legislation which will approximate the requirements of equal education within most states.

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[1] Kottmeyer, William, A Tale of Two Cities, A Blueprint of Educational Opportunity in the St. Louis Public Schools, St. Louis Public Schools, St. Louis, Missouri, 1968.

[2] Kottmeyer, William, Hard Times and Great Expectations, 1967, St. Louis Public Schools, St. Louis, Missouri, 1967.

A third alternative involves the redrawing of school district lines. The strength of this proposal lies in the extent to which the changes in lines reduces the variability between poor and wealthy school districts. The task of writing a state equalization formula is simplified greatly when the number of districts is relatively small and somewhat comparable in ability to support education.

Another factor contributing to the problem of achieving equality of education is the rather sharp distinction between city and suburban schools. Conant observed "totally different kinds" of public schools that serve the city slums and wealthy suburbs.[1] Judge J. Skelly Wright in *Hobson v. Hansen* castigated the educators in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area for failing to recognize the pervasive nature of their educational problems: "Certainly if the jurisdictions comprising the Washington Metropolitan Area can cooperate in the establishment of a metropolitan transit authority, the possibility of such cooperation in the field of education should not be denied–at least not without first sounding the pertinent moral and social responsibilities of the parties concerned."[2]

In a lecture at New York University in 1965 Judge Wright raised the prospect of court-ordered urban-suburban mergers as one remedy to educational disparity in urban areas.[3] Others joining this chorus and raising legal questions include Kurland who stated, "As I have suggested, it is perhaps because of the fact that local governmental units, especially those located in metropolitan areas, cannot or will not bring about racial equality that some are looking to the equal educational opportunity concept to break down the municipal boundaries in order to include suburban areas under the same umbrella as that which covers the slum schools."[1] Levi likewise predicts court-ordered mergers of urban and suburban schools: "The point is that it is extremely likely that the court will take a position if things go the way they are now going. It eventually will take the position that some greater requirement of 'equality' be imposed or that there be some greater measure of collective concern between the city and suburbs for this problem." [2]

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[1] James B. Conant, Slums and Suburbs, New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., Inc., 1961, p. 3.

[2] Hobson v. Hanson 369 F. Supp. 401 (1967).

[3] New York Times. June 20. 1967.

In conclusion, there is good legal precedent for an "equal opportunity" suit in Missouri. As Morphet and Johns observed: " . . . this plan (the foundation aid program in Missouri) guarantees that the most wealthy district in the state will have available at least two and one-half times the amount per pupil as the least wealthy . . ."[3] Disparities of this magnitude are morally, socially, and legally indefensible.

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[1] Kurland op. cit. p. 61.

[2] Edward H. Levi, "Discussion," The Quality of Inequality: Urban and Suburban Schools, University of Chicago Press, 1968. p. 111.

[3] Morphet and Johns. op. cit. p. 30.

CHAPTER IV

A NEW STRUCTURE FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION

The case for educational reform in the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas has been presented in the earlier sections of this document. As is to be expected, however, the local school officials are not in unanimous agreement that this reform is necessary. The reports to the Missouri School District Reorganization Commission and the testimony at the hearings tended to reflect local interests, traditions and pride, fear of loss of local autonomy, and differences in educational philosophy. Also, some of the officials gave little consideration to the overall metropolitan interest. As Norton Long of Brandeis University observed:

> *"Educators, whether they like it or not, are going to be involved in the politics of metropolitan change. Clarification of professional ideals as to what constitutes an adequate school system and the role of the schools in integration and assimilation will help the layman, politician, and civic leader alike to think constructively about how to guide the process of metropolitan change. We may hope that the professional commitment of educators will help them to find a more enlightened lead than that of the bureaucratic defender of the status quo. The challenge of metropolitan life is a challenge to embody the ideals of American education in significant practice. For every educator it means a chance to function on a plane of excellence at the top of his powers at a historic turning point in the culture."*[1]

In view of the wide divergence of opinion, and having concluded that changes in the existing structure are necessary, the next step was a search for promising alternatives. The three alternatives which were seriously considered along with the advantages and weaknesses of each are discussed in this chapter. The recommended plan is presented in considerable detail with some attention to the special features relative to governing, financing, and operating the schools.

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[1] Long, Norton, Education in Urban Society, Chapter 5. Eds: Chandler, Stiles, and Kitsuse. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1962, pp. 147-148.

ALTERNATIVES

The first and most traditional approach would be to combine some of the smallest districts to form units which would satisfy the minimum enrollments and other criteria as adopted by the Missouri School District Reorganization Commission. These districts might be joined with their larger neighbors, combined with each other, or divided between two or more districts.

The advantages of alternative one over the existing structure are rather apparent. In addition to satisfying the minimum enrollment criterion as established by the Commission, the plan would reduce the disparity in the ability to support schools. Moreover, the smallest school districts with the weakest programs would be strengthened through reorganization. If pursued with vigor, this plan would result in some improvement by simply eliminating unsatisfactory schools.

The limitations of alternative one are numerous and fairly obvious. Tinkering with the structure in a few suburban districts represents a policy of minimum compliance at best. Many districts would be left with marginal programs and little opportunity to make efficient use of their most specialized and expensive personnel and facilities. Moreover, in ignoring the interdependence of the city and the suburbs, alternative one fails to deal with the fundamental problem of equal access to public education in the area. Clearly, this alternative must be rejected in favor of more imaginative and comprehensive approaches to the problem.

A tempting solution to the problems besetting public education in the two metropolitan areas in Missouri would be the creation of one school district in each area. Such a consolidaton would vest full authority for the government of the public schools in one school board and that board would be responsible for the conduct of all public schools in the area. The principal advantage to be gained would be the development of the total tax base by a single taxing unit to provide support for schools throughout each metropolitan region. A merged system would also be able to take more effective leadership in the expanding of educational facilities and planning educational development.

The major disadvantage of a single educational agency in each of the regions pertains to their size. One educational system to serve upwards of 300,000 pupils in St. Louis, for example, would suffer the encumbrances of a large bureaucracy. While such centralization of authority could be combined with efforts to delegate responsibility to lower levels within the organization, such devices are rarely effective. The center continues to exert the strong gravitational pull in decision-making. As John W. Polley has observed:

> *"When authority is decentralized, the person granted local power remains responsible to the same group of officials that delegated the authority . . . Because local officials are responsible to higher authority, rather than to those they serve, their clients have no direct means of influencing policy or action; even more important, perhaps, the official loses the freedom of action which true responsibility would confer on him . . . What now exists . . . in most large cities is authority without responsibility."*[1]

Effective decentralization requires that responsibility commensurate with delegated authority be exercised at the level at which decisions are made and action taken. Accomplishing this objective in urban school systems will require organizational patterns that permit direct and immediate interaction between school personnel and people at the local level.

The third and recommended alternative would combine the best features of the other two choices. The unique features of the recommended plan follow.

THE GOVERNANCE OF SCHOOLS

The recommended plan envisages a regional board of education with limited responsibilities and local boards of education to perform most of the traditional functions of a school board. The regional board would be responsible for levying a uniform tax for education throughout the region and distributing such tax money to local boards of education. Other major duties of the regional board would include the constructing of all

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[1] John W. Polley, "Decentralization Within Urban School Systems," in Education in Urban Society, edited by B.J. Chandler, Lindley L. Stiles, and John I. Kitsuse. New York:, Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1962, pp. 122-123.

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school buildings; operating vocational education and compensatory education programs; negotiating with teachers for salaries and fringe benefits; adjusting boundaries between local school units as needed; and long-range planning for education. The boards in the local school units would have responsibility for the selection and assignment of teachers and administrators; determination of the quality and scope of the educational program; levying local taxes within prescribed limits; and the direction of all pupil personnel services.

In some instances, the two educational agencies would have a shared responsibility for board functions or would be involved in different aspects of the same function. For example, local and regional boards would be involved in developing budgets. The local board would generate a budget based on its best estimate of needs and available resources in the local school unit, whereas the regional board would focus primarily on establishing a regional tax levy.[1]

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LOCAL SCHOOL UNITS

As indicated earlier, the recommended plan includes a major restructuring of local school units. Many existing districts in the Kansas City and St. Louis areas do not satisfy the criteria as adopted by the Missouri School District Reorganization Commission. Moreover, the enormous disparity in resources between the wealthiest and poorest districts in the metropolitan areas violates the equality principle which permeates all of the criteria.

The provisions of the criteria having the greatest relevance for the Kansas City and St. Louis areas are:

> *"The major purpose of school district reorgainzation is to establish the framework which will provide a quality educational program and, as far as possible, an equal opportunity for every child in the state to receive an education geared to his ability, interests, and needs."*

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[1] For a more detailed description of the functions of regional and local boards of education see School District Organization for Missouri, Missouri School District Reorganization Commission, 1968.

> ***"Each district should include a diverse population, based on economic, racial, and ethnic characteristics."***
>
> ***"Efforts should be made to reduce the disparity among school districts in taxable wealth behind each child."***
>
> ***"In all urban and suburban areas, no district should have fewer than 5,000 elementary and secondary pupils; an enrollment of 10,000 to 30,000 would be more desirable."***[1]

The following guidelines were established to delineate the local school districts under the recommended plan. These guidelines are consistent with the criteria for school organization as approved by the Missouri School District Reorganization Commission. The local school units should be:

1. **Small enough for a local board of education to perform efficiently most of the traditional functions of a school board (exclusive of the functions transferred to the regional unit);**
2. **Large enough to support a broad program of education with a full range of services, each district to be largely self-contained except for compensatory and vocational education;**
3. **Large enough to warrant the use of modern methods and equipment in the business and accounting and reporting functions;**
4. **So drawn as to require minimum alteration in existing school attendance areas;**
5. **So drawn that each district will represent a heterogeneous population insofar as housing patterns permit;**
6. **Developed with full regard for natural boundaries including rivers and ravines;**
7. **Limited to the geographical boundaries of the State of Missouri;**
8. **Drawn without reference to existing municipal boundaries.**

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[1] Ibid.

Application of these criteria and guidelines to existing conditions in the two major urban centers in Missouri produced the local school units as described in Tables XIV and XV. Also, the local school units are shown on the maps in the pocket at the end of this document. These local school units should be viewed as a suggested plan of organization. Other equally informed and unbiased consultants might apply the same criteria and arrive at a different pattern of local school units. The enormous range of variables and the subjective nature of the criteria permit different interpretation. Therefore, it is recommended that the regional board of education "conduct a study of the educational conditions and needs of the region; consult with school officials and residents of local school districts, the county boards of education, the county superintendents, and the State Department of Education; and prepare a plan of local school units for the entire region."[1]

The general application of the guidelines and criteria in the Kansas City and St. Louis areas began with the centers with highest concentrations of population and fanned out to the more distant suburbs. For example, using downtown St. Louis as a starting point, it soon became apparent that the attendance areas for Roosevelt and McKinley high schools would establish a local school unit to fit the criteria, as would the attendance areas for Central and Vashon high schools. While these two local school units fail to meet the criterion regarding diversity of population, they do satisfy all of the other criteria. In fact, the high concentration of blacks in the central cities and whites in the suburbs makes the criterion of diversity most difficult to achieve. Also, clusters of wealthy districts, such as those located near the center of St. Louis County, created special problems. The general objective was to satisfy as many of the criteria as possible without gerrymandering local school units into illogical patterns which would result in splitting attendance areas.

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[1] Ibid

TABLE XIV

RECOMMENDED LOCAL SCHOOL UNITS
IN THE KANSAS CITY AREA

Proposed Local School Units	1967-68 Enrollments Grades 1-12	Present Districts
Cass No. 1	9,886	All of Cass County
Clay No. 1	29,712	All of Clay County
Jackson No. 1	22,756	R-I Fort Osage, No. 30 Independence, R-IV Blue Springs, R-VI Oak Grove, R-V Grain Valley, No. 14 Courtney
Jackson No. 2	22,048	C-4 Grandview, R-VII Lee's Summit, C-1 Hickman Mills, C-6 Lone Jack
Jackson No. 3	19,804	C-2 Raytown, Kansas City South East High School
Jackson No. 4	17,974	Kansas City Paseo High School, Kansas City Southwest High School, No. 58 Center
Jackson No. 5	25,112	Kansas City East High School, Kansas City Van Horn High School, Kansas City Central High School
Jackson No. 6	23,839	Kansas City Westport High School, Kansas City Manual High School, Kansas City Lincoln High School Kansas City Northeast High School, No. 15 Pleasant Valley
Platte No. 1	7,139	All of Platte County

TABLE XV

RECOMMENDED LOCAL SCHOOL UNITS IN THE EAST-WEST GATEWAY

ST. LOUIS AREA

Proposed Local School Unit	1967-68 Enrollments Grades 1-12	Present Districts
St. Louis No. 1	20,722	R-IX Mehlville, Hancock Place, 102 Bayless, St. Louis Cleveland High School
St. Louis No. 2	19,324	St. Louis McKinley High School, St. Louis Roosevelt High School,
St. Louis No. 3	19,462	101 Affton Webster Groves, St. Louis Southwest High School
St. Louis No. 4	19,191	R-VII Kirkwood, R-VIII Lindbergh
St. Louis No. 5	12,595	Brentwood, Clayton, Ladue, Maplewood
St. Louis No. 6	21,938	R-III Pattonville, Ritenour
St. Louis No. 7	15,109	Normandy, University City
St. Louis No. 8	18,755	Wellston, St. Louis Soldan High School
St. Louis No. 9	23,442	St. Louis Beaumont High School, St. Louis Sumner High School
St. Louis No. 10	21,171	St. Louis Vashon High School, St. Louis Central High School
St. Louis No. 11	17,005	Jennings, Riverview Gardens, St. Louis Northwest High School
St. Louis No. 12	17,455	Hazelwood
St. Louis No. 13	22,458	R-II Ferguson, Berkeley, Kinlock
St. Louis No. 14	19,595	R-VI Rockwood, Parkway, Valley Park
St. Charles No. 1	16,758	All of St. Charles County
Jefferson No. 1	23,432	All of Jefferson County

THE FINANCING OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

This report is replete with references to the need for a unified approach to public education within each metropolitan area. There is considerable evidence that the present structure, especially the system for generating school revenue, fragments rather than unifies the efforts of those who urge good schools for all. This narrow, parochial approach is in conflict with the larger public interest. The essential elements of an adequate tax structure for a metropolitan area include the pooling of the fiscal resources of the area to support public education. The aspirations and wealth of all are needed. The citizens in every part of the area should have a voice in the setting of the school expenditure level for the entire area. As stated earlier, the economic, social, and educational well-being of citizens in the entire urban area are inextricably related. The quality of education for the area must become the concern of everyone.

The above thesis argues for lodging the major school taxing power with the regional board rather than with local educational units. This recommendation is certain to generate controversy because the practice of levying school taxes at the local level is cherished by many and, of course, regarded highest by citizens in affluent communities. Aside from the tax advantage for the more prosperous districts, some educational advantages have been cited to support local tax leeway. Some refer to a lighthouse concept, maintaining that experimentation and innovation can occur best in such a setting. The theory holds that new practices will be generated in the lighthouse districts for all to see and emulate.

While there is a bit of merit to this theory, it is less useful than one might imagine. First, there is the assumption that high-cost districts will engage in experimentation and research. However, the conservative character of these districts often prohibits engaging in practices involving high risks with a possible educational loss to the community. Therefore, "experimentation" seldom amounts to doing more than implementing what is already known. For example, a reduction in class size and an increase in salaries for teachers are the most common and expensive practices. These choices are, of course, available to all who can afford them.

Other metropolitan areas have failed in efforts to reduce educational disparity while preserving a large measure of local taxing authority. For example, in 1953 Toronto attempted to solve the problem by levying an area-wide tax to supplement the revenue produced by existing local school levies. After ten years of experience with this "umbrella" concept in the Toronto metropolitan area, the disparities were greater than before. The difference in operating costs between the highest and lowest costs per pupil, rose from $126 to $233 in one decade.[1] Enrollment increases and shifts in the tax base had accounted for the changes.[2]

Cunningham had similar concerns about local tax leeway in the Louisville, Kentucky area and encouraged severe legal constraints.[3] He recommended a statutory limitation in rate and duration. "We believe that the rate should be limited to a figure which would produce no more than 15 percent of the amount allocated to the local district by the metropolitan district and that the life of the tax voted by local district residents be no longer than two years. Voters would have an opportunity every two years to extend a levy for this purpose."[4]

A high level of local autonomy in the levying of taxes to support schools had some utility during a previous era. Wealth, as represented by farm land, and educational needs were distributed somewhat uniformly throughout the nation. However, the practice has outlived its usefulness and now contributes to the excessive disparity between poor and wealthy school districts. The local school tax as a major source of support for school is especially dysfunctional in highly industrial and urban complexes such as Kansas City and St. Louis where in some neighborhoods a majority of the residents live in government housing with no taxable wealth to support schools. Moreover, these areas of greatest population density normally have the greatest needs for expensive compensatory educational programs.

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[1] H. Carl Goldenberg, Report of the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, 1965. p. 132.

[2] Ibid. The study by Goldenberg concluded that all school taxes should be levied on a metropolitan base.

[3] Luvern L. Cunningham, et al., Report on the Merger Issue to the Louisville Public School System and the Jefferson County Public School System. Louisville Board of Education, 1966, pp. 6-12.

[4] Ibid. pp. 6-12.

Many of the problems associated with the local school tax disappear when a uniform levy is applied to an entire region such as the St. Louis metropolitan area with the proceeds distributed to local operating units. This system has the advantage of insuring schools of comparable quality for all. Moreover, in restricting or eliminating local taxing power, it encourages citizens in the suburbs and central city to unite in support of good schools for the region. Havighurst and Levine in "Emerging Urban Problems and Their Significance for School District Organization in the Great Plains States,"[1] support a single taxing agency for schools in a metropolitan area. They state:

> *"In order to provide the large sums of additional money needed to improve educational opportunities for disadvantaged children, the metropolitan education system must be viewed as a single source of revenue for attaining the area-wide quality of education required in an industrial society, and steps must be taken to make sure that the resources of the area as a whole are drawn to whatever extent necessary to make education more effective in schools or classrooms which have substantial numbers of disadvantaged children. As a bare minimum, this perspective suggests that an appreciable percentage of the funds utilized for public education should be determined and collected by a metropolitan wide education taxing authority."*

A recent study of the New York City public schools includes some observations about financing schools. While this report recommended the decentralization of the schools into between 30 and 60 community school districts containing from 12,000 to 40,000 pupils each, the raising of revenue was left with the central education agency. McGeorge Bundy, the chairman of the advisory panel wrote:

> *"The community school district would not have taxing powers, but in order to conduct their affairs with the greatest possible initiative, flexiblility and authority they should receive a total annual allocation of operating funds. The central education agency should allocate their funds from the city's total budget for education on the bases of a formula applied objectively and equitably across the city."*[2]

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[1] An unpublished 36-page paper produced May 1, 1968 by the Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education, University of Missouri at Kansas City, p. 23.

[2] McGeorge Bundy, et al. Reconnection for Learning, A Community School System for New York City, New York, 1967, p. 25.

A compromise which preserves some local taxing power and establishes an "umbrella" district is proposed. It is recommended that the major taxing power be vested in the regional school district with local tax leeway not to exceed ten percent of the regional levy. This plan should encourage citizens who want and can afford better schools to levy the additional ten percent and to encourage the regional board to levy sufficient taxes to support good schools for all. Citizens in less fortunate circumstances should not be unduly concerned about the unequal distribution of taxable property and educational needs in the centers of greatest population density. These areas normally produce the greatest number of students for the types of programs which will be supported directly by the regional board. Placing the support of compensatory and vocational education with the regional board will relieve local school unit funds for the less expensive programs.

CONCLUSION

A deliberately planned urban container for public education is needed in Missouri. The present system is highly discriminatory against the poor and it is notably void of a unified force for education within a metropolitan area. The system is encouraging the development of separate societies for the cities and suburbs with the potential for city schools which are counter-productive to the goals and aspirations of the majority of the residents in a metropolitan area. The regional school district which is recommended would insure everyone in the metropolitan area a voice in educational affairs in the cities and suburbs, while retaining a measure of local control over school operations.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY/CONCLUSIONS

A TIME TO LISTEN ..... A TIME TO ACT[1]

> *"There can be no doubt that the modern environment is changing faster than any environment ever previously changed; therefore, the social center of gravity constantly tends to shift more rapidly; and therefore, modern civilization has unprecedented need of the administrative or generalizing mind. But, as the mass and momentum of modern society is prodigious, it will require a correspondingly prodigious energy to carry it safely from an unstable to a stable equilibrium .. . .* [2]

The public school system of Missouri and its products have become central issues because education has become, to an unprecedented extent, a basic and determinative requirement for full participation in society. The nature of the "equal access to education" disparity involves a resolution of forces–social, economic, and political, cutting across all levels of society and government. The metropolitan developments in Kansas City and St. Louis during the past two decades have produced or intensified many social, economic, and political problems, most of which have had repercussions in education. Walter E. Washington, Mayor of Washington, D.C., concludes that the choices made among a number of alternatives will establish the future course for our nation:

> *"Are we to have one nation under God with liberty and justice for all, or will we have a nation divided between rich and poor, black and white, left and right, and the many other subgroups that are possible? Will our school systems continue to develop along lines of two separate patterns–with the inner-city public school 'tracking' students into low-middle level occupations while the suburban and private school systems prepare students to assume our country's leadership? Will each child be given the*

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[1] Taken from the publication of the same title, A Time to Listen . . . . . A Time to Act, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights: Washington, D.C. 1967.

[2] Cited from Brook Adams, The Theory of Social Revolutions, 1913.

opportunity and resources to develop his potential or will some children be intellectually crippled by miseducation?"[1]

The main object of this document was to explain a tentative plan which creates organizational conditions designed to enhance the capability of the educational system in Missouri to react to the needs of the complex metropolitan societies of the Kansas City and St. Louis areas. There are no easy solutions to the "disparity" problems described in the first two chapters of this document. The words and ideas contained in this proposal do not represent a grandiose scheme which if earnestly applied would solve all of the complex problems facing education. The proposed plan does provide, however, the beginnings for new and dynamic structural arrangements which, if implemented in a climate of genuine concern, understanding, and mutual trust can preserve the vitality of education in the urban areas of Missouri.

As in most other metropolitan centers in the United States, the political organization of the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas reflects a design more applicable to the social and economic conditions of another era. The multiplicity of separate school districts, independent municipalities, and special purpose districts add measurably to the increasing isolation and separateness of the urban population into distinct groupings without the feeling of a common cause. The highly decentralized, fragmented local school government map contributes to the disparities in social, economic, and educational opportunity. The significant problem here is political, not educational. To expect school authorities, boards of education and school superintendents to resolve this political issue unilaterally would be analogous to expecting the airline pilot to determine the location of the new airport. Clearly then, the basic challenge for the political renewal of the school districts in metropolitan Kansas City and St. Louis is directed to the citizens of Missouri and to the state legislature, as well as to those responsible for operating the public school system.

A significant factor which has played an increasingly important part in the development of a stratified system of public education in the metropolitan areas of Missouri has been the increasing economic and social disparity among urban residents. There is little doubt that the increasing social and economic contrast between city and suburb and among suburbs has had a debilitating effect on the access to equal educational opportunity. The trends toward the social and economic isolation of adults have caused serious financial disparities among school districts and have contributed to the educational disparities of children. Thus, it may be asked if this fatalism of revisiting the social and economic constraints of adults on the education of children and youth is consistent with the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution. The anlaysis presented in Chapter III strongly suggests that the inequalities that currently exist as evidenced by disparities in educational opportunity between city and suburb, suburb and suburb, are in fact unconstitutional. In addition to this constitutional principle, the desire for equality is also obviously an integral part of the ideology of American society. The morality of the inequalities which exist in terms of educational opportunity strikes at the fiber of concern for justice and fair play.

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[1] Walter E. Washington, "The Schools and the Community," The Struggle for Power in the Public Schools, National Committee for the Support of the Public Schools, Washington, D.C.: 1968.

The question then is not whether disparities in social, economic, and educational opportunity exist and whether or not they are constitutional. Inequities in educational opportunity do exist in metropolitan Missouri and they are undoubtedly unconstitutional. What can be done to reduce and eliminate the trend toward separateness and isolation?Given these conditions, the necessity of understanding that there are no ready-made, single-faceted solutions is evident. Clearly, meaningful reform of educational organizations must encompass both principles of consolidation and dependable decentralization. The new structure for public education described in Chapter IV assumes that:

1. more money is not a cure-all solution;
2. planning is not an adequate substitute for structural school governmental changes;
3. meaningful reform must encompass the goals of consolidation, decentralization, and cooperation;
4. continued fear of area-wide educational units is attributable significantly to lack of a perceived "community of interest" between the citizens of the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas; and
5. political problems require political solutions and given the political nature of urban educational problems in Missouri they can best be treated through the state's recognized political institution, the legislature.

The situation which now confronts education in Missouri seems to require political action; the immediate and urgent consideration of new legislation for the purpose of removing the present educational inequities in the Kansas City and St. Louis metropolitan areas is essential for the elimination of the dire effects of economic and social disparity which exist, and for at long last providing real equality of access to educational opportunity by including all children and youth in a totally improved public education system.

Without attempting to outline needed legislation in great detail, this report and the major study *School District Reorganization for Missouri*[1] present a design for regional and local school units that reflect the essential principles required for positive change. This report describes conditions which are deeply rooted in historical development of public education in Missouri. The concepts and problems are complex and very much involved in emotions. The conditions do result, however, in injustices to children and require immediate attention and action. The responsibility for corrective action according to the plan proposed in this report rests with government at all levels in Missouri and with citizens throughout the state. Public interest in educational reform is not enough. It necessitates action by those citizens who feel that the old ways cannot cope with the urgent problems of today. It requires gaining political support to correct past educational discrepancies as well as to project future needs. James Conant, an educational reformer of considerable stature noted that:

> *"If I were twenty years younger, and had the ideas I have now, I would go and sit in Albany as a lobbyist, and see to it that the bills to support public schools . . . . got through the legislature. Political action is what's needed."*[2]

There is good reason to be optimistic about the possibilities of making reforms in Missouri's education if citizens are willing to exert the effort to participate politically.

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[1] Missouri School District Reorganization Commission, School District Organization for Missouri, Jefferson City, 1968.

[2] Terry Ferrer, "Conant Revisited," Saturday Review, March 18, 1967, p.73.

The most fundamental obstacle to educational improvement in Missouri is the absence of an appropriate organizational structure, rationally designed to meet the essential needs of developing a state's human resources. The plan described herein is no panacea. In itself it will guarantee no more than a setting for new accomplishments. But the setting is essential. If it is not provided or if an equally promising alternative is not put forth, a high proportion of the citizens of Missouri will be denied the indispensable means to a decent and productive life.

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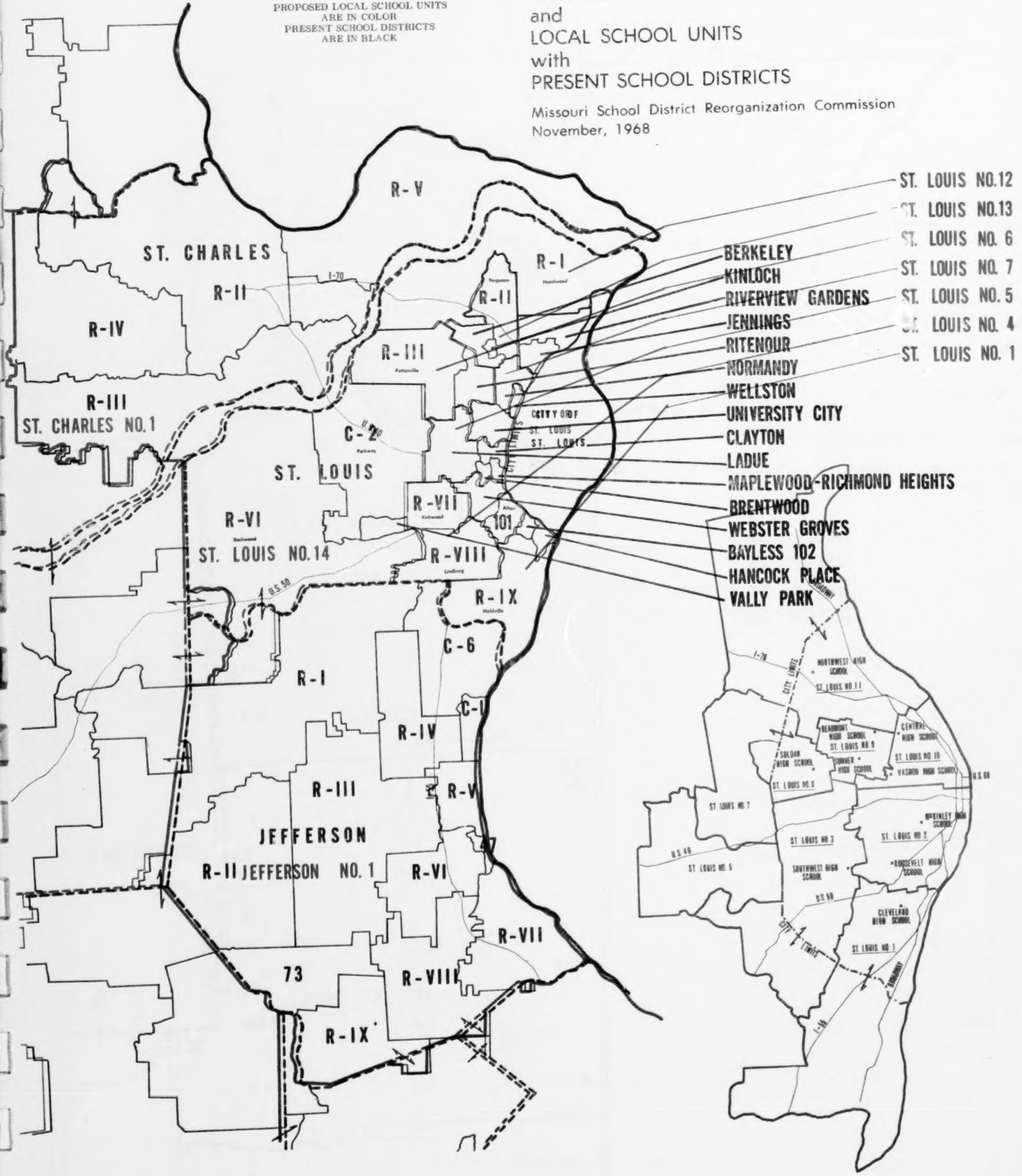
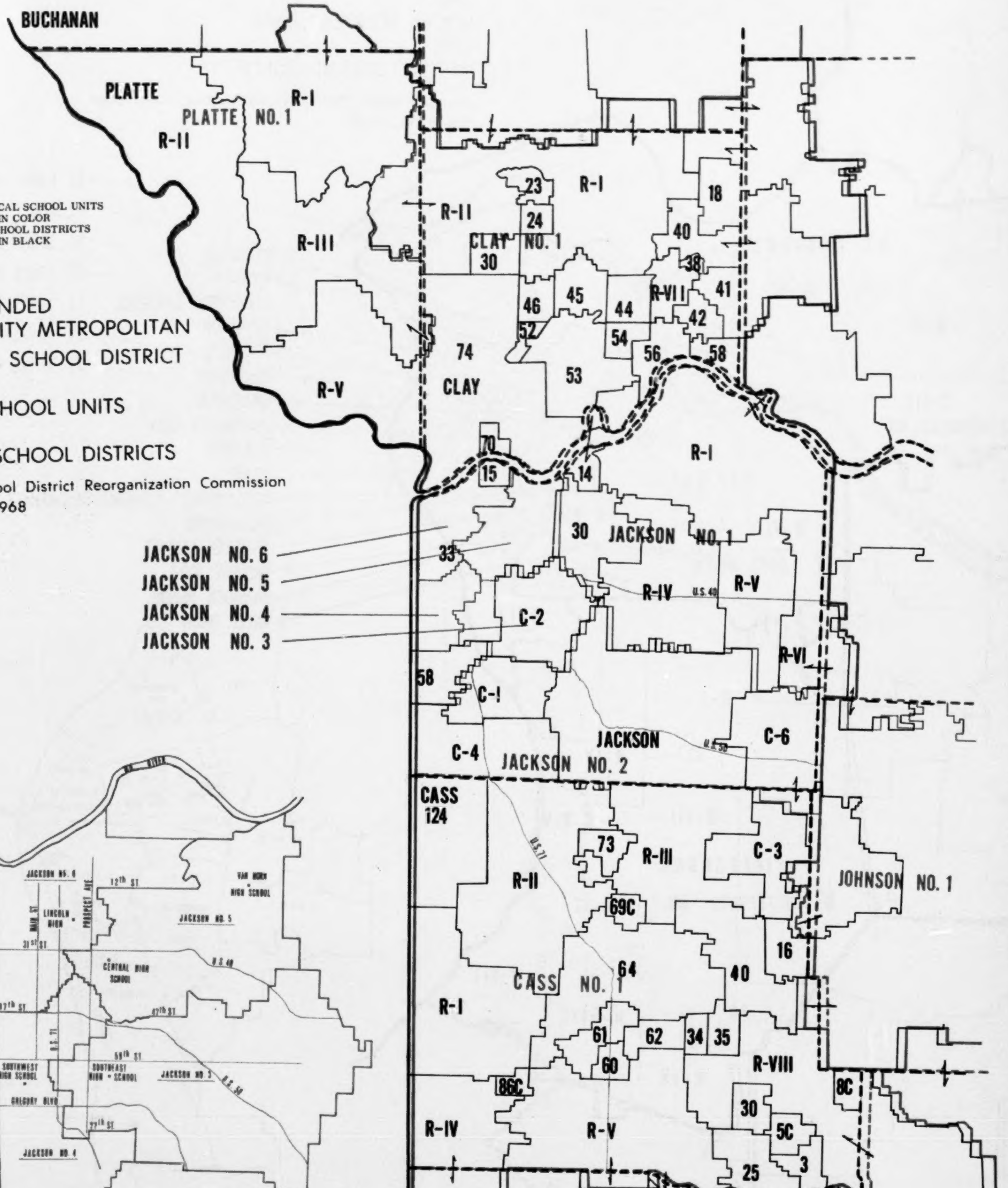
RECOMMENDED
EAST-WEST GATEWAY REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT
and
LOCAL SCHOOL UNITS
with
PRESENT SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Missouri School District Reorganization Commission
November, 1968


PROPOSED LOCAL SCHOOL UNITS
ARE IN COLOR
PRESENT SCHOOL DISTRICTS
ARE IN BLACK
ST. LOUIS NO.12
ST. LOUIS NO.13
ST. LOUIS NO. 6
ST. LOUIS NO. 7
ST. LOUIS NO. 5
ST. LOUIS NO. 4
ST. LOUIS NO. 1
BERKELEY
KINLOCH
RIVERVIEW GARDENS
JENNINGS
RITENOUR
NORMANDY
WELLSTON
UNIVERSITY CITY
CLAYTON
LADUE
MAPLEWOOD-RICHMOND HEIGHTS
BRENTWOOD
WEBSTER GROVES
BAYLESS 102
HANCOCK PLACE
VALLY PARK
R-V
ST. CHARLES
R-II
R-IV
R-III
ST. CHARLES NO.1
I-70
R-I
Hazelwood
R-II
Ferguson
R-III
Pattonville
CITY OF ST. LOUIS
CITY LIMITS
C-2
Parkway
ST. LOUIS
R-VII
Kirkwood
Affton
101
R-VI
Rockwood
ST. LOUIS NO.14
R-VIII
Lindbergh
U.S. 50
R-IX
Mehlville
C-6
R-I
C-I
R-IV
R-III
R-V
JEFFERSON
R-II
JEFFERSON NO. 1
R-VI
R-VII
73
R-VIII
R-IX
NORTHWEST HIGH SCHOOL
ST. LOUIS NO.11
BEAUMONT HIGH SCHOOL
ST. LOUIS NO.9
CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL
SOLDAN HIGH SCHOOL
SUMNER HIGH SCHOOL
ST. LOUIS NO.10
VASHON HIGH SCHOOL
U.S. 66
ST. LOUIS NO.8
ST. LOUIS NO.7
McKINLEY HIGH SCHOOL
ST. LOUIS NO.3
ST. LOUIS NO.2
U.S. 40
ST. LOUIS NO.5
SOUTHWEST HIGH SCHOOL
ROOSEVELT HIGH SCHOOL
U.S. 50
CLEVELAND HIGH SCHOOL
ST. LOUIS NO.1
I-55
BROADWAY


BUCHANAN
PLATTE
R-I
PLATTE NO. 1
R-II
R-III
R-V
R-II
CLAY NO. 1
23
24
30
R-I
18
40
38
41
R-VII
42
45
44
46
52
54
56
58
74
53
CLAY
70
15
14
R-I
30
JACKSON NO. 1
JACKSON NO. 6
JACKSON NO. 5
JACKSON NO. 4
JACKSON NO. 3
33
R-IV
U.S. 40
R-V
C-2
R-VI
58
C-I
JACKSON
U.S. 50
C-6
C-4
JACKSON NO. 2
CASS
124
73
R-III
C-3
U.S. 71
R-II
69C
JOHNSON NO. 1
16
64
40
CASS NO. 1
R-I
61
62
34
35
60
R-VIII
86C
8C
30
R-IV
R-V
5C
25
3
MO. RIVER
JACKSON NO. 6
12th ST
VAN HORN HIGH SCHOOL
MAIN ST
PROSPECT AVE
LINCOLN HIGH
JACKSON NO. 5
31st ST
CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL
U.S. 40
47th ST
47th ST
U.S. 71
59th ST
SOUTHWEST HIGH SCHOOL
SOUTHEAST HIGH SCHOOL
JACKSON NO. 3
U.S. 50
GREGORY BLVD
77th ST
JACKSON NO. 4
STATE OF KANSAS

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